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THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

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EIGHTY YEARS OF UNION.

AMERICANS OF 1776.





NOTE.—Russian Alaska was acquired by purchase in 1868 and placed under a territorial government. The census of 1870 made no count of its population.



S IN 1876
nt territories.)



HISTORY
OF THE
RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD
1865-1877

BEING VOL. VII. OF
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

BY
JAMES SCHOULER

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PREFACE.

I seem to have been borne onward by some invisible current, where I had repeatedly thought myself in port. Good general health, abundant leisure, an active mind and confirmed habits of industry, conjoined with a special physical infirmity whose gradual increase drives me into social seclusion—this must be my explanation for taking up again after a long interval the historical pen twice laid aside.

In the preface to my sixth volume I stated my reasons for issuing a narrative of the Civil War. And now, at the lapse of fourteen more years, I add a seventh volume to cover the Reconstruction Period, meaning that this publication shall be the last. Its composition came about quite casually. When President Johnson's posthumous manuscripts were placed in the Library of Congress, about eight years ago, I made a careful study of them, stating the general results in published articles. The conviction I then gained that injustice had been done to Johnson in the popular estimate of his official career was strongly confirmed when, in 1910-11, the Diary of Secretary Welles relating to that Executive term appeared in print in the *Atlantic Monthly*. I now carefully studied the whole record of that term for myself, and as a result felt deeply that this much maligned President needed a vindication, as against other historical writers; and furthermore, that the vindicator ought to be myself. Hence was prepared a course of lectures which I gave recently at the Johns Hopkins and Harvard Universities; and from those lectures developed the present narrative of the Johnson administration. 1909

To add the tale of President Grant's two terms, with which I was already familiar, has not been difficult; and here I have relied greatly upon the judicious and accurate

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This whole Reconstruction Period is ind upon my memory, recalling days of happy those twelve years I passed much of the ti ton on professional business and for the Grant's two administrations I virtually res current politics I was greatly interested. I events I studied for myself at close range. leaders at the nation's capital, civil or milit met, and with some of them I was fairly young man who was neither in public life n Hence, in the course of my present volume take a reminiscent tone, which ought to con of the narrative, and, I trust, does not det from its dignity.

A General Index to the whole work of s (1783-1877) assures both the reader and my history will not be continued farther.

In taking leave of a personal enterprise w pleasantly pursued at intervals for nearly make a final request. All extensive history is by proxy, and most persons accept the estin torian as rendered by critics and experts, in using pages diligently for themselves. By a my work, whether friendly or unfriendly, I h profit. And in the course of these many years opportunity, not only to ---

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work of Mr. Henry Adams relating to the Jefferson and Madison administrations; and in the volumes which next succeed, to use the Jackson and Polk papers, not available originally. I was the earliest of authors to explore the manuscript collections, when made accessible, of five of our Presidents,—Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk and Johnson; and early magazine articles and Society papers written by me upon each collection, will bear out this statement. My last request, therefore, is, that my merits as a historian of our country may be judged by my whole work as I now leave it.

JAMES SCHOULER.

INTERVALE, N. H., *June* 27, 1913.



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HISTORY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

PERIOD OF THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

April 15, 1865-March 4, 1867.

PERIOD OF FORTIETH CONGRESS.

March 4, 1867-March 4, 1869.

SECTION I.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND POSTERITY.

We are now at half a century's perspective from the period of Abraham Lincoln's tragic administration; and the greater the distance the more surely do we behold his fame set among the stars. Next in order will Andrew Johnson's scarcely less troublous term come up ^{1865-1869.} for posterity's judgment; and if we mistake not, that unhappy Executive, weighted with tremendous responsibilities thrust suddenly and inevitably upon him by fate, will be held in kinder regard by posterity than he was by fellow-countrymen during his lifetime.

Two recent contributions to the momentous annals of 1865-1869 should aid in that more favorable estimate. One is the manuscript collection, placed a few years ago in the Library of Congress, which Andrew Johnson himself preserved, as though for a vindication of his Pres-

years never to be forgotten.

✓ The Diary record of Secretary Welles shows with allowances which I shall dwell upon later sincerity of purpose and the general accuracy of what he wrote down almost daily in private. Cabinet at Washington, there can be no doubt of the articles which Welles contributed to the *Gallop*. After his retirement from office, he drew upon the revelations of the Civil War and Presidential administration. But as to President Johnson's construction, no disclosure was ever made until his own death, when the printing of that record was completed in 1910 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, which is now a complete publication of the Diary as a 12 volumes.

John T. Morse, who has written for this introduction—himself an eminent biographer whose word should carry weight in America—says truly of this Diary that its picture of Andrew Johnson is highly favorable and may lead to at least a revision of popular opinion concerning him. It is another and earlier vindication of that Secretary McCulloch's "Men and Measures" which historians have cited and quoted, but have not studied nor taken to heart in its entirety.³

accurate and researchful in his general work. But I think his chapters which relate to the years 1865-1869 are quite unjust to Johnson, both from what he states openly of that President and from the manner of his statement. He begins his exposition¹ by saying that "of all men in public life it is difficult to conceive of ~~any~~ one so ill fitted for the delicate work (i. e., of reconstructing the South) as was Andrew Johnson." And he proceeds to create a prejudice by summarizing Johnson's antecedents and character, once and for all, at the beginning of his narrative of this Presidential term; laying much stress upon his humble origin and breeding, and his early struggle for self-education and a rise in life—in all of which Johnson's record differed not greatly from that of his immortal contemporary, Lincoln, except that the one, as a poor white born in slavery's mean environment, was transferred early to a pioneer free State, there to struggle still under surroundings only gradually improving, while the other remained in his native section and rose, a Southern plebeian, to rule in time a patrician planter set that had disdained him. For to be brought up to the trade of tailor is scarcely more undignified than to pursue the calling of rail-splitter or flatboatman.

Mr. Rhodes disparages Andrew Johnson as one having no early association with people of cultivation and moral excellence. He speaks of his extreme egotism, his self-confidence and boastfulness, and makes allusion to the ludicrous impression he produced when he first sat in Congress, as though that first impression were the latest. And asserting, upon quite doubtful proof, that Johnson began his Presidency by encouraging Sumner and the Radicals in their plans, and then lunched over to conservatism, he qualifies his praise of the clement and generous policy to which, as he freely concedes, the new Executive soon committed himself and to which he adhered thenceforth, by blaming his steadfastness of purpose and his failure to compromise or yield. And finally, with

¹ V. Rhodes, United States, c. 30.

... personal training and inspiration, just what was far better than any intimacy among men born"—for with such the clown in *Winter's* rank himself in four hours—and that was an wife, whom he married early, and who, beside him a constant home, taught him to write and him for improvement while he sat at his work. Her purifying influence pervaded his nature and his marvellous rise in life. "The pupil of his Culloch styles him. She was his companion and at the White House, where they were surrounded by a family of daughters and grandchildren and lived some domestic life; and for a brief period she left him. One of Johnson's married daughters, Mary, was a favorite in the White House, and she voted to him.

Mr. Rhodes's chapters covering the Johnsons' later years were mostly composed before either the Johnsons' manuscripts or Welles's record of those years became available. Professor Dunning, a keen investigator and free from any leaning to levity in his conclusions, examined, indeed, Johnson's manuscripts, bringing to light the fact that Johnson's first message to Congress was such a masterpiece of the work of the historian, George Bancroft, who at that time was living in retirement in New York City. This discovery has been widely used as though it were a new discovery. Johnson still further as a President to be

composition, he satisfied himself that none of the Cabinet had anything to do with it.¹ A critic of Professor Dunning's paper has shown by comparison that the staple of that message was to be found in President Johnson's previous speeches,² whence one might fairly infer that Bancroft, instead of composing the President's message for him, worked into literary shape materials which Johnson himself supplied. The Johnson Collection shows only that, over this, as in other matters, President and historian were at that time in close and confidential intercourse. And Welles himself observed of the message (which he liked and thought would prove acceptable to Congress) that "the views, sentiments and doctrines are the President's."

That Andrew Johnson, when first as President confronting Congress, many of whose leaders were known to be hostile to him, should have sought such assistance, shows, at least, that he was not so vulgarly egotistical and self-confident as some have imagined, and that he conscientiously desired to place himself strongly before the country. And we have Washington's example for justifying any President in employing pens more facile and skilful than his own in public utterances or public documents.

But, be all this as it may, George Bancroft left America early in 1867, to be Minister to Prussia; and yet this President's messages and State papers continued to show strength and dignity through a nearly four years' term replete with controversy. In his correspondence with General Grant over the latter's surrender of the War Department, which he had held *ad interim* while Stanton was suspended, we see him pressing his adversary closely and with forceful ability. It is only in those largely unpremeditated and violent speeches which he made orally, letting himself go and flinging official dignity to the winds, that as President he seemed really ridiculous; and dearly did such appeals cost him and his supporters at the polls in 1866.

¹ Diary, Dec. 5, 1865.

² Am. Hist. Review, Vol. XI, p. 951.
C. R. Fish's comment }

Probably, while he called upon others to aid him in public composition, Andrew Johnson had trained himself into a strong and effective penman for political discussion. Earnest in his views and always patriotic, he had "vigorous common sense" (as Welles styled it), "great sagacity and wide comprehension." And why should he not have become by this time a forceful writer on American political topics? His career, we should recall, had been long and eminent as a public man prior to that momentous year which saw him associate and then successor of the martyred Lincoln. Alderman and mayor of the little city of Greenville when scarcely of age was only fame's beginning for him. His own community, trusting him more and more widely upon experience, sent him in 1843 to Congress, where he served faithfully for ten years in the House of Representatives. In 1853 and again in 1855 he was chosen Governor of Tennessee; and then in 1857 he took his seat as a United States Senator from Tennessee. Here Southern secession found him in 1861; a Democrat who had supported Breckenridge and Lane through the Presidential canvass, yet who now denounced all schemes of separation following Lincoln's election and alone of the Southern Senators pledged himself unconditionally to the Union. This loyalty exposed him to grave personal danger from the secessionists of his State, when he returned home to organize and inspire the element still remaining loyal. During his whole Senatorial life in Washington he had shown himself a man of high ideals in political life, and sturdily fearless and independent in his public attitude.

President Lincoln in 1862 appointed this Senator the military governor of Tennessee, a post of difficulty and personal danger, and in that service he displayed an energy and wisdom that attracted wide admiration in the North and led to his selection for Vice-President by the Union Republican Convention of 1864, which renominated Lincoln as President. His rise in public service, from first to last, had been spontaneous and based upon sound and efficient service, and not as the result of trickery or artful manipulation.

True, as Mr. Rhodes has pointed out, Johnson had not, like Abraham Lincoln, that other self-made statesman, entered politics by way of the legal profession with its important discipline. Yet, unlike Lincoln, he had been rocked and almost cradled in public responsibilities, and had fulfilled a long career both as executive and legislator, serving the Union as well as his important State. Such a public experience ought to afford a fair substitute discipline for any man of aspirations and capacity.

But this President, we are told further, had acquired drinking habits while military governor of Tennessee. Too much may be imputed by such a charge. The demon alcohol, we well remember, made fearful ravages, both North and South, during those four years of fratricidal strife. It was a period of sudden reverses in private experience, of sudden military exposure to death and disability, of sudden wealth or ruination civilly—a period when men's lives lapsed into reckless savagery while at the seat of war, far from all social constraint and the tender companionship of pure women and children. In the soldier's life weeks of sheer idleness in camp would be followed by strenuous marches and encounters, incessant over-exertion and physical exhaustion. Whiskey, as a stimulant or a medicine—not to mention convivial uses—was much in evidence in those days, and far too much so. None of us who wore shoulder straps, at one interval or another, but knew well that fellow-officers, high or low in grade, indulged in liquor more or less habitually, and that those who totally abstained were fewer than they who showed themselves at times the worse for it. Virtue lay in a temperate use of the cup, or, at least, in showing no ill effects from it while on duty.

Andrew Johnson, most unfortunately for himself, was intoxicated when sworn in as Vice-President of the United States. That initial lapse from grace created a prejudice far and wide, and could never be forgotten through the years of his higher exaltation. Yet he never again offended in public official intercourse, so far as

The written statement of his predecessor Hamlin, which Johnson preserved, was to both men rode together to the Capitol, at Vice-President elect appeared quite sober arriving at the Senate wing, he complained exhaustion and took a slight drink of whiskey for himself; and that this little was enough to intoxicate the distinguished Senate audience while President, some of his remarks unofficial crowd might have suggested a similar condition while he "swung round the circle" on his ill-fated European tour of 1866. But it would seem, either liquor loosened Johnson's tongue when speaking rather, that, without drinking at all, he maintained self-poise and self-control under strong excitement.

That Johnson as President was quite at the White House—that to callers, whether of position or standing, he appeared sensible and kindly, ready to give advice, somewhat reserved in conversation, conversing with sobriety and self-restraint, in the testimony of contemporaries qualified to give testimony. If not otherwise, this President had perhaps been enough to spread tales to his injury. He was not so exhilarated nor morose to his many visitors as some have muddled nor of fitful temper. A dignified

Secretary Welles describes this Executive in Cabinet intercourse as a willing listener, receiving information and suggestions from his advisers and taking their opinions upon important questions; with only the fault of being too secretive and uncommunicative, and, as perhaps his gravest political error, failing to inspire, with a frank and free confidence, willing friends at the other end of the avenue, who might speak and work better on his behalf in House or Senate, when fully authorized by him to do so.

To turn to Johnson's nobler traits as a public man. Through all his long and notable career, steadily upon the upward grade, he was inflexibly honest, both personally and politically. When he became President, he refused from admirers the gift of a coach and equipage, lest he might be placed under obligations officially to the givers. He would aid a relative from his private purse, but would not appoint him to office.¹ Upon his retirement from the Presidency he could challenge criticism in the language of the Hebrew prophet: "Whose ox have I taken? Or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? Or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?"

Of Johnson's courageous loyalty to the Union in times of stress and peril, his steadfast devotion, through weal or woe, and the noble service he rendered in rescuing Tennessee from the toils of a false Confederacy, the proofs are many. He shone, a beacon light to fellow-citizens, through gathering dangers. He would address an angry mob of neighbors in 1861, armed with a loaded pistol for self-protection. Welles, in his Diary, notes an incident of that year, related to him, where a Northern man at the Burnet House in Cincinnati heard a commotion at breakfast time, and, going to the entrance, saw this patriot dismounting, dusty and travelworn, for a rest. He was then on the way to Washington, to take his seat in the Senate

¹ B. C. Truman in *Century Magazine*, January, 1913, p. 438.

our praise. There was no duplicity or *ignis fatuus* of a self-seeking ambition, and he would have liked the personal vindication term from the people, but he made no effort himself with one party set or another, nor deceived. Not all the blandishments brought upon him could persuade him to Tylerize or to patronage so as to strengthen the opposition party which now freely reorganized. Union men, and of high personal character—men such himself would have selected with applause for national offices to the end of his term; "Co or those with a disloyal record, made no head of him.

And so, too, with his Cabinet. Johnson kept content to retain the advisers President Lincoln behind him. His own changes in this respect and such, except in the War Department, as usually and provoked no harsh comment. Of the Secretaries inherited from his predecessor, Sew and McCulloch stayed loyally by him, giving distinguished support to the last. Stanton alone false and opposed him. No one of his who resigned whom he did not replace by a successor.

Between Welles and President Johnson —

I part from them, socially and personally, with sincere regret." ¹

Welles's own estimate of President Johnson is clearly expressed in the written pages of his Diary and reiterated either at length or casually. "He has great capacity" (to quote the record of 1867), "is conversant with our public affairs beyond most men, has much experience, possesses great firmness, sincere patriotism, a sacred regard for the Constitution, is humane and benevolent. Extreme men and extreme measures he dislikes; secession and exclusion are alike repugnant. The radicals accuse him of being irritable and obstinate, but the truth is, he has been patient and forbearing almost to infirmity under assaults, intrigue and abuse." ² And again Welles styles him "as pure, as honest, as patriotic a chief magistrate as we have ever had." ³

Besides the fault of unconfidingness to which I have alluded, so that many of his most important steps in the Presidency were taken "without the knowledge of any person whatever," Johnson is criticised by this Secretary for a want of promptness and timeliness, when taking a decisive step to assert himself, and hence failing of his purpose. "Had he been less yielding," writes Welles, "less hesitating, more prompt and decided, had he met radical error and misrule at the threshold, checked the first innovations on his prerogative, dismissed at once faithless public officers, he would have saved himself and the country many difficulties." ⁴

To this we may add the belief that had this Executive avoided brass-band demonstrations, out-of-doors oratory, and popular stumping tours for the newspapers to report and comment upon to his injury, confining himself rather to public messages, letters deliberately written and the official reception of callers and delegations at the White House, he would not have been so widely misunderstood and misinterpreted by our people, and, most likely, might

¹ Diary, March 17, 1869.

² *Ib.*, January 15, 1867.

³ *Ib.*, August 31, 1867.

⁴ *Ib.*, August 31, 1867.

best to load him with reproach and infamy, we prepared to review, at a sufficient interval, the Johnson's ill-starred administration through a office replete with strange incidents and strangely misconception. History's task is to unravel actions, not to leave public entanglements unexplained, illuminate and not to keep under a bushel. No qu progress without at least two obstinate opponen of this we should reassure ourselves, first of all live nobly and with honorable intent is better than nobly born. No matter how humble his antecedents how miserable his birth and early surroundings, who struggles onward and upward in life, through tribulation, training and improving himself as while seeking to be of real service to his fellow develops, under our free institutions, a character deserving of confidence and respect. Only they who are self unscrupulous in a high ambition are surely to be counted and only sordid tricksters and trucklers deserve contempt. A steadfast soul may shine out, despite its failings even the greatest of statesmen have their faults character.

SECTION II.

THE JOHNSON CABINET.

... ..

Secretary of State. The day was gloomy and threatening. The dead body of the martyred President had just been borne to the White House in a hearse from the ^{1865,} mean brick dwelling, opposite Ford's Theatre, ^{April 15,} where he had breathed his last about seven in the morning. To this sudden successor the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Chase in the presence of cabinet officers and a few Senators and other public men who happened to be in the city. Johnson showed deep grief and an earnest sense of the tremendous responsibilities so strangely and suddenly shifted upon him. "The duties are mine," he said with sincere emotion; "I will perform them, trusting in God for the consequences."¹

In a conference with his predecessor's cabinet, which next followed—all but Seward being present—Johnson besought each and all of the members to continue in office and give him that combined support of which he felt the need in this difficult emergency. To this they assented, to his manifest relief, and the formality of tendering resignations was dispensed with. The new President's whole bearing at this date was admirable and favorably impressed spectators and the whole country; tending thereby to calm the hysteria of excitement to which the strange spectacle of assassination, where a ruler is chosen by the people, had given rise.²

The cabinet counsellors President Johnson thus brought over from the previous administration, included three notable Secretaries of remarkable force and energy, each of whom served him faithfully to the last. These ^{1865-1869.} were Seward of the State Department, Welles of the Navy, and McCulloch of the Treasury. Stanton, the Secretary of War, made a fourth for conspicuous zeal and ability, but he did not show the same loyalty to his chief nor remain equally undisturbed at his post. Of the three other cabinet offices under President Johnson, a brief mention of the occupants may suffice. James Harlan

¹ New York Tribune and other newspapers of the day.

² McCulloch's *Men and Measures*, 374-376.

Alexander W. Randall and Henry Stanbery soon entered the Senate, while Dennison, v Ohio's war governor, went into retirement Speed. Browning, lately a Senator, had b choice friend in Illinois; Randall was promot Assistant Postmaster General and had held tant offices; Stanbery of Ohio ranked high Resigning the Attorney Generalship to becor the President, when the latter was impeache Stanbery was later renominated to the o Senate majority, angered by the outcome refused to confirm his appointment and his private practice. William M. Evarts Attorney General for the brief remnant term.²

Among the great cabinet officers who this or the preceding administration, Willis and Gideon Welles alone maintained an un for these eight historic years. And, of the t reason of the Diary he kept, stands solely f narrator as well as an actor in the cabinet that epic period. Seward, at the outset, h keeping some journal of the kind, but aband How, with incessant laborious compositio

kind for his prime public function, he could have kept up, such a record by way of mental recreation, it would be hard to conceive; and besides, the very nature of diplomatic correspondence with other nations forbids that the Secretary conducting it should at the same time commit his secret thoughts to paper which might get mislaid or reach hostile hands. Yet we may suppose that, had Seward kept his own private Diary for these years with the same introspective fidelity as Welles, or that statesman of an earlier epoch, John Quincy Adams, posterity might have counter-testimony to weigh as against the many harsh things which jealous contemporaries of those eight years said or wrote of him, Welles included.

Welles's Diary, in its political judgment of men and events of that eight years' period, must be taken with allowances, because of the author's idiosyncrasies and political bias; and this without imputing the least untruthfulness in his record of facts stated from his own knowledge and observation. An elderly man, as public life has been reckoned in America—for he was only a year younger than Seward, who took care of himself with precaution, as one who had passed his prime—Gideon Welles, a Connecticut voter, had figured in national politics, like our premier, far back in the thirties; not, however, as a public speaker or man active in affairs, but as a journalist and ready political writer. His early sympathies were enlisted on behalf of Andrew Jackson and the Democracy, at a time when Seward in the great Empire State of our Union, came to the front as an orator and responsible leader among Anti-Masons and Whigs, serving presently as a Whig Governor and United States Senator, and by speech or writing promoting the cause of those transient parties in succession. Hence an antipathy in political antecedents which Welles cherished to the end of his life, hateful of each and every party movement that bore the stamp of the Seward and Weed alliance, so long potent just beyond Connecticut's bor-

of patronage; with a strong predilection for State autonomy in any normal situation and under all circumstances, for a Jacksonian the Executive as against any hostile Congress.

Welles was but little known among the Republicans during the formative period of the party, though a Connecticut delegate to the Convention of 1860, which nominated Lincoln for President. He was esteemed rather as an occasional writer than a political craftsman or organizer. When Lincoln made up his cabinet list with this man in mind, England, disregarding the wealth of men in the country for freedom, whether radical or conservative, which that section of the country could abundantly supply, there was felt a disappointment. This President-elect had some special attractions for Welles; perhaps he wished to avoid the competition of those more pretentious rivals; or possibly he thought Massachusetts and the other New England States, whose wealths were secure in party fealty, he could use as an anchor to his administration the ever unsteady Connecticut.

This elderly Secretary of the Navy, as he was called up his department duties, quietly and unobtrusively, but thoroughly conscientious in his work, with far more energy and capacity than his position required.

Assistant Secretary, was an excellent man for that post; being in the prime of life, resourceful, with already a large experience in naval affairs, and admirably qualified by habit and disposition to dispatch the public business. There were various naval bureaus, besides, each headed by a naval officer of expert knowledge. Under such combined auspices, the Navy Department was admirably conducted, and Fox perhaps, rather than his elderly chief, gained most of the credit for it.

Welles's personal appearance was not such as to give assurance of great executive efficiency on his part. With features stern and set, a dark wig surmounting his head, and a full white beard in strange contrast under the chin, this Secretary gave to casual beholders the impression of respectable mediocrity. Some jestingly dubbed him the "old man of the sea," recalling Sindbad's story. One who saw him at Washington, as I did on a sunny September afternoon in war times, pacing slowly the gravelled walk of Lafayette Square and leaning on the arm of a friend, while the Marine Band played to the people, would have thought him rather some harmless zealot of a religious cult than a civil administrator with vast responsibilities. When, in 1861, the buoyant Governor Andrew of Massachusetts went the round of the departments at the Capital on public business, "Where," he asked, jestingly, "shall I find that old, long-bearded, Connecticut deacon?"

But this Secretary evinced throughout the Civil War the wisdom of his selection by a discreet and efficient conduct of the work committed to him. He did well his own important share in conquering the Confederacy, where our promptness with a blockade and a constant superiority to the South in naval strength gave the most steadfast assurance of Union success. Naval officers and the comparatively few civilians who had dealings with his department, got to liking the old gentleman. Naval expeditions were well conducted and naval business went smoothly, whoever might get the chief glory of it. Among colleagues in cabinet conference, Welles gave his advice modestly but frankly, mostly in opposition to the Secre-

te, whose intrenchment somewhat carelessly
privileges of his department, in our earliest
parations, he never forgave, but repeatedly
ver it in his writings. In fact, both politics
imacy with Fox, who was a brother-in-law
nery Blair, inclined him to take sides in dis-
Lincoln's Postmaster General, whose friend-
cherished after the latter went into retirement,
for the rest of his life.

the author of the "Diary," now fully pub-
highly important posthumous contribution to
history of two memorable administrations.
inspiration, and while scarcely aware whither
ts were ominously leading, Welles began a
nal, upon entering cabinet life at the capital,
ed it for the whole eight years that he re-
office. A ready writer from long habit, and
assed by strenuous official duties extending

fugitive, this Secretary of the Navy had become one of the great figures to be immortalized in American history and he realized it; and this all the more, after Lincoln's death, when he found himself assured of a continuance at his post under Johnson, the successor. He felt justly proud of the honorable part which his department had borne in the mighty conflict. He rejoiced that his own foresight had given to Farragut the chief opportunity for naval distinction and he regarded that hero as second to none other on the Union side.

There were special reasons why Welles should now come into strong sympathetic accord with President Johnson. Each viewed past politics alike in early experience; each was inflexibly honest, upright and patriotic, conservative by temperament, combative, if need be, and fixed in his prepossessions. Each softened in vindictiveness towards prostrate Southerners of their own race, and neither was fanciful as to the average calibre of the Southern negro just set free. Both, moreover, cherished a liking, in the retrospect, for the Jacksonian modes of dealing with an opposition. The Diary shows that, under this Johnson administration, Welles felt bold and confident of his ground, and that in cabinet conferences it was he of all advisers who nerved the President most strongly and strenuously to maintain his ground against a House and Senate disposed to usurp all the functions of government and renew a military reconstruction of the South, regardless of the Commander-in-Chief of army and navy designated by the Constitution.

Welles lived until 1878, about nine years after this Johnson administration and his own term of office ended, *but quite*
with his record of that stormy period undivulged. *see II*
One may wonder whether, in the interval, he revised those written pages—not, of course, in sinister respects, but so as to color or expand his own comments. Certainly, the record, as posterity now reads it, shows a marvellous grasp of the immediate public situation, and a forecast, almost prophetic, of the evils to result from the Sumner-Stevens programme of reconstruction with which the dominant

ty soon saddled itself. Against such a pro-
lles shows himself squarely set. When col-
the cabinet, more guarded against vexing
ere for leaving a veto message as originally
the President, without adding an irritating
y way of further objection, Welles was for
at argument, offence or no offence. Through-
in he was for a veto every time, and for the
promising attitude on the part of the Execu-
s own eyes political expediency weighed but
principles seemed at stake. But Andrew John-
nd more experienced in politics, well knew
accidental President, little known at the
not attempt with success the full *rôle* of that
famous and more popular Andrew of Tenn-
any event, kept his hold upon one branch of
d that knowledge made him hesitate, though
was courageous and obstinate.

les stood in this Johnson cabinet, for a fearless,

the real influence with the President which might have been surmised; for all accessible evidence is to the effect that while Johnson listened well to advice and even courted it, he weighed it all in silent deliberation and as to his own plans was for the most part uncommunicative. I should not wonder if he consulted his wife and daughters more than he did any fellow-statesman. And the Johnson manuscripts indicate clearly that much of the advice which most influenced his course of action came from quite outside of his cabinet; as in the striking instance of George Bancroft's connection with the President's first message to Congress, to which I have alluded, of which the cabinet remained wholly ignorant.¹ Indeed, for the first year of his administration, at least, it seemed as though leaders throughout the land, of every shade of political opinion, were writing to this Chief Magistrate to prompt him as to what he ought or ought not to do, aside from those many oral counsellors who thronged the White House. In this Johnson collection we find preserved for that year the resolutions of various bodies, public or private, from State legislature and social or religious conventions, down to ward political clubs; some of them handsomely engrossed on parchment and adorned with ribbons. Johnson was careful and methodical in preserving his manuscripts.

cf. J.S.
Book 118


Another corrective to be applied to the disclosures of Welles's Diary, during this administration, was his own jealous disposition. To envy, as Lord Bacon reminds us, "fellows in office and those that have been bred together" are apt to incline, inasmuch as the greater fame of an equal brings the other into an upbraiding comparison. Seward, in an Auburn speech, made in the fall of 1865, when he had recovered from his wounds, lauded Stanton highly, as the Carnot of our Civil War, while speaking mildly of the Naval Department as though its honors (so Welles imagined) were to be shared between the

¹ *Supra*, p. 4.

and Assistant Secretary. Welles was splenetic; reiterating in his journal the disgust he felt at the "humbug of Stanton's immense labors," which was no greater than his own. Traces of such feelings were often perceptible in the Diary, both as to Seward, and even to the imputation that the State himself felt envious of the writer.

It is little that Seward was described as now costing Welles genially or inviting him to meet a friend; something would be said or done enough to assume that he himself was the greater of the two, and Welles returned home to discharge the secret pages of his journal.

As to himself and his subtle character, his long and distinguished career and eminent service through our country, his faults and virtues as a statesman, and his merits for the post he occupied, I have discoursed at length.¹ And I simply repeat here what Lincoln used to say of him, that he was "a man of great gall" always disposed to speak and think



skilfully through national debt and difficulty, and as a cabinet adviser giving wholesome and conservative counsel. McCulloch had the unique distinction of serving in this high office under three different Executives; for President Arthur, in 1884, called him from a long retirement, to fill a vacancy for the remainder of his expiring term of office. Under President Johnson this Secretary's annual reports gave a much needed stability to the credit of the United States both at home and abroad. Of the first of them, as he tells us, together with the President's message of December, 1865, Minister Charles Francis Adams wrote home from London to a friend: "I know nothing better in the annals, even when Washington was chief and Hamilton his financier."

In a volume of personal recollections which he issued in 1888,¹ McCulloch discussed the present administration at much length and paid to Andrew Johnson's memory a full and becoming tribute. His testimony, which amply confirms that of Welles's Diary, deserves the greater credence since each must have written without knowledge of the other's record. "No public man in the United States," writes McCulloch, "has been so imperfectly understood as Andrew Johnson. None has been so difficult to understand. He had few personal friends; in no one did he entirely confide. He had many faults, but he abounded also in admirable qualities."² "In his administration of the government Mr. Johnson labored under great disadvantages. He had been a Democrat, but his connection with the Democratic party was severed when he became the Republican candidate for the Republican Vice-Presidency. He was disowned by the Republicans when he antagonized the Reconstruction measures of Congress. For a good part of his term he was President without a party." "By the Republican press, and by some members of Congress, he was denounced as a traitor not only to his party but to the country;" and this "all

¹ Men and Measures of Half-a-Century. See *ib.*, p. 220.

² *ib.*, 369.

of his services in the war and the terrible
he and his family had been subjected by his
the Union." "He was accused not only of
ces, but of personal misconduct of which
the slightest proof." ¹

It-repeated charge of intemperate drinking to
already alluded ² McCulloch's testimony is
itive and deserves to be carefully weighed.
unfortunate exhibition which Johnson made
in as Vice-President had impressed this
favorably, as it did others, and in spite of a
on that point from President Lincoln, he
ed misgivings which only time and close
removed, after this Vice-President had suc-
preme station. "I had good opportunities
his habits," writes McCulloch, "and my fears
chful." And, reciting the occurrences of the
s of the new Presidency, while Johnson oc-
in the Treasury Building adjoining his own
ness and receptions, this Secretary states

administration, will be best developed in our narrative detail. Welles, already jealous of the superior glory accorded to the War Department as compared with his own, and vexed at Stanton's domineering behavior in the administration, while the new President stood uncommitted and the Secretary of State was necessarily absent from all conference, suspected his colleague early of secret connivance with the Radicals.¹ "Stanton has an assumed frankness," observes the Diary in 1866, "but his coarse manners cover a good deal of duplicity."²

SECTION III.

THE PRESIDENT'S SOUTHERN POLICY.

Mr. Rhodes begins his narrative of Johnson's official term with the charge that this President made "a political somersault" between the first and second months of his administration, "changing from harshness to lenity."³ I think he is quite mistaken. He quotes in proof of his assertion a speech of Johnson which boldly declared that "treason must be made odious, traitors punished and impoverished," etc.⁴ But that speech Johnson made, April 5th, in response to a serenade, just after Richmond had fallen, and while he was still Vice-President, having no direct responsibility for the policy to be pursued; and that speech the newspapers now republished after his accession to the Presidency.⁵ We find him called upon, during these first really responsible weeks, and forced to respond off-hand to Northern delegations who were eager to elicit his views and impress him with their own; but, so far as his remarks have been reported, he is shown to have spoken with official sobriety, as a listener rather than to proclaim his purpose—openly,—and, moreover, to visitors

¹ The Diary (May 9, 1865) denounces "the rash, imperative and arbitrary measures of Stanton at this time—carrying others with him even against their convictions." See also Diary, August 19, 1865.

² Diary, June 30, 1866.

³ V. Rhodes, United States, 522, 523.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ New York Tribune, April 17, 1865.

and not to a casual outside crowd. It would be the same keynote of making treason a crime which still echoed and re-echoed in the land; but his language was neither blunt, nor passionate, his replies were rather as of a man deliberating upon a policy, who had both the future and punishment to consider, and who would hold himself responsible to the people for all his official acts. Republican presses of high standing applauded him, and those who were thus intruding upon his privacy were making him the target of their elaborate attacks.

For proof of Johnson's alleged somersault is the indiscreet proclamation of May 2, which incriminated Jefferson Davis with actual complicity in the rebellion of Lincoln. But Welles's Diary shows that this proclamation was not issued upon the President's initiative, but upon that of the Secretary of War, who submitted at a cabinet meeting the draft of it to himself, and supported by a summary



did much to give this administration an unduly fierce and menacing aspect at the outset. Welles records that this Secretary at once showed himself tyrannous and compelling with his colleagues, rash, impetuous and arbitrary. Needlessly severe in setting aside General Sherman's initial compact for the Confederate Johnston's surrender—which all must admit was a blunder, though an honest one—Stanton published his own unfavorable comments in the press, without the President's knowledge or sanction, and provoked thereby Sherman's open resentment. As for arrested criminals of the Booth conspiracy, who were promptly arraigned before a court-martial in Washington, he avowed that he meant to have them tried and executed before Lincoln's remains were buried in Illinois; but, as Welles observes, it took longer.¹

Allowance must be made, however, for the popular tension of feeling in those anxious days which closed our great civil conflict under strange and bewildering conditions. Those were times of dread and "horrible imaginings," North as well as South. Speed, the Attorney General, alarmed lest Sherman had disloyal designs against the Union he served, pictured him as possibly arresting Grant, when the latter would arrive to overrule him, and then marching his legions in menace to the capital, crossing the Potomac like another Rubicon. Stanton, too, far into the summer of 1865, kept a military guard at his Washington residence, and walked the streets with a stout "bruiser" close at hand, to protect him from bodily assault.²

But, once more, President Johnson is charged with having given the radicals reason to believe that he would make negro suffrage a prerequisite for Southern readmission,³ as they urged him to do. That imputation rests wholly upon Senator Sumner's much too confident report to his friends, after private interviews he had held early with the new President. Johnson's own report of such conversations is wanting. That the Massachusetts Sena-

¹ Welles's Diary, 1865, *passim*. ² *Ib.* ³ V. Rhodes, 522, 523.

these weeks at the capital in the interval of might earnestly to bring the successor to views pressed in vain upon the predecessor whose session was in progress, is certain; but the wish for immediate enfranchisement of the freedman in the Southern States must have been father to the "not yet," "not at once," was his admitted President Johnson's reply, while desiring to see Sumner told Welles exultingly that the President had actually committed himself, the President, for good reason, expressed himself incredulous.¹ Johnson, as I shall presently show, held quite a different theory as to extending gradually the suffrage to negroes qualified to exercise it; and were any President to confer full suffrage at once, of its own accord the President was not likely to make objection. Johnson, a Southerner born and bred, and brought up in contact with both negroes and the master race,—a Democrat, too, believing heartily in the power of each State to regulate the local

frequently to give their advice on essential points, while reserving his own opinion. Meanwhile events moved rapidly for bringing the weary warfare to a close. Mobile's capture and the final surrender of General Johnston's Confederate army were among the earliest announcements of this Presidency. The Booth conspirators were tracked with energy and arrested; Booth himself was shot and the others put speedily on trial by a court-martial at Washington, convicted, sentenced and punished. The early weeks of May saw the last fugitive armies of the South, which were pursued toward Texas, melting rapidly away or forced to surrender, one after another. Before that month ended Jefferson Davis himself was captured on the flight and consigned to Fortress Monroe; while other leading officials of the late Confederacy, such as Stephens and Reagan, were arrested and sent as prisoners elsewhere. Executive orders issued for reopening trade, under prudent restrictions in the Southern ports, now fully under Union control. Insurrection, in fine, was completely crushed; and, following a grand pageant and review at Washington, which lasted two days, our uniformed volunteers who had borne the Stars and Stripes so long and so creditably were disbanded and sent home to their several States, to become civilians once more. Peace, smiling peace, with victory crowned, overspread this whole national domain by the end of May.

On May 29th, and after only about six weeks from his inauguration, President Johnson made clear his policy. He issued a general proclamation of amnesty and pardon to the South, with the restoration of all private ^{May 29.} property and personal rights, on condition of swearing obedience to the constitution from henceforth. Exceptions were stated in the case of rich and responsible participants specified; but even here pardon might be granted by the President to those who made special application to him; and such (as Mr. Rhodes has well observed) the President pardoned "freely and wisely."¹

¹ V. Rhodes, 535.

ized to Lincoln's acceptance, Southern States its former rights and autonomy recognized secession, were to be summoned in conventional governor to frame a local constitution. Under Johnson's proclamation, all voters, the suffrage just prior to secession, who now the terms of amnesty, might vote or take should be the qualification for the future office-holding, each new State convention could settle for itself, as had been the rule from the beginning. But, in any case, reorganizing was to accede specifically to three conditions, namely: to adopt the XIIIth amendment abolished slavery, to repeal its ordinance of to repudiate all debts it had incurred in aid

For the Southern State governments in accordance, the President's general authority Executive of the Union, was enhanced by his as Commander-in-Chief of army and navy institution, to restore order throughout a country lately the seat of war, which was still occupying the Union and held subject to his supreme command and supervision. Such a policy asked no assistance from Congress; the whole situation most of all, a strong and single grasp, a firm, such as both North and South had been

were all brought back promptly into normal relations, without much casuistry as to whether they had been actually in or out of the Union.

Yet Congress, after all, must have had the last word in this whole business of acceptable reconstruction and readmission; and hence, as directly representing the opinion and will of the loyal people, its final approval was still in abeyance and waited for. Not that this body should complicate the present situation by causing delay and divided counsels and confusing the Executive, where instant and positive action had been imperative; but that it should with due deliberation and discussion revise and pass upon present results. Hence no one, at the outset, had asked to hamper the new President by calling Congress into special session at once. Nor was Johnson himself wanting in a fearless and patriotic sense of responsibility founded in long public experience. Upon the present course this administration, which included some of the ablest counsellors of that preceding it, was in complete unison. Concerning amnesty, suffrage, and the other points involved in reorganizing the South, the cabinet had been fully consulted, and Lincoln's own reissued draft of April 14th made the basis of this President's proclamation. Negro suffrage was the only point of consequence discussed at all in these conferences as indicating a difference of views. And while Stanton had first proposed allowing "loyal citizens" (which meant to include the full negro element) to take part, in each Southern State convention—Dennison and Speed siding with him, against McCulloch, Welles and Usher (Seward being still absent), all agreed finally to the plan which the President now promulgated. For, as Welles argued forcibly, the true rule of conquest was not to subvert local usages more than necessary.¹

But upon this full Executive plan as proclaimed in

¹ "All laws, not inconsistent with those of the conquerors, remain to the conquered until changed." Diary, May 9, 1865, etc.

MINISTERS OF DEMOCRATS, SOUTH AND NORTH
endanger the present supremacy of the North
in national affairs.

To take first impressions, however, our
by a vast preponderance of sentiment,
generous and judicious policy which thus
thus instituted, and heartily welc
May-
November. to the national fold their white b
gone astray and now desired to retur
convention after convention in the autumn
approved this speedy reconstruction;¹ and
communities at the North, whose intere
and not politics, divesting their hearts c
the fallen, looked forward to a speedy re
North and South for freedom, harmony and

The fairest of loyal presses at the North
united in praising Andrew Johnson, whom
sheet, expecting quite a different outco
denouncing as "a drunken boor," "an ill
low-bred brute." "He is already proving
successive acts," retorted the New York
"one of the most discreet, clear-sighted, im
pacious statesmen of the age."² And th
observed that this President's policy had
property of seeming to please all parts of t
all parties.³ For our American instit



forget when an end has been attained, to recuperate and press onward.

The Southern leaders of opinion, humiliated by defeat, stripped of means, and expecting worse to follow, were powerfully moved by Johnson's magnanimity towards them—and he, one of their own section, whom they had once disdained as a low-born upstart and then persecuted for his loyalty to the flag. Sincerely, I am sure, did they resolve that their Northern brethren who had shown such magnanimity in the hour of triumph should never henceforth find reason to doubt their allegiance to the old Union. General Lee and others who had planned or fought for the lost cause asked special pardons from the President and received them. Many of the most influential Southerners sought deferentially to aid the Executive efforts at Washington for a prompt and permanent reconciliation. All accepted *bona fide* the extinction of slavery and were in a mood to accede, if need be, to whatever further conditions might evince their loyal intention. Their former arrogance in politics was gone. But, though willing enough to take back seats if readmitted to Congress, they bore their defeat at arms like men and would not avow more penitence than they really felt. They did not go upon their knees for mercy like abjects, but had been willing to face punishment. Glad to be at peace now with their conquerors, they would not confess themselves "traitors," in the odious sense of the word, nor "criminals" because of what they had fought for.

Yet the crucial and fundamental difficulty of the present Southern situation was to determine and fix positively for the future the status of those Southern negroes, newly freed and needing hostages either from the nation or locally for justice in a new career. In some of these States, now in process of reconstruction, the blacks outnumbered the whites; in most others they were about equal in population; and in all they were densely uninformed and uneducated, disposed to wander like escaping cattle, yet not to leave their Southern home. Upon this point people

erful friends were white humanitarians from States far distant, or new adventurers from the North, too many of whom hounded a herded and corruptible vote for selfish and base advancement in politics. One, from Boston, transmitted loftily to June 30, the petition of three hundred "colored Georgians" (as he styled them) who prayed for the right of suffrage in the reconstruction of the South. Yet, to scrutinize that petition (still preserved only one of the kind among the Johnson papers) seems obvious that it emanated from a party press, and that many of the professed signers were genuine.¹ In short, the Southern situation in 1865, the senior Blair described it in one of his letters to the President, was that of a black nation inside a white one.

This whole stupendous problem of dealing with the emancipated negro, white leaders resident in the Southern States had hoped to regulate after their own methods, conformably to old theories of Statecraft, as gradually as they might see fit, so far, at least, as to concede a right to vote. Various letters were sent to Johnson received in 1865, frank, yet submissive. One in September from Memminger of South Carolina who had been the Confederate Secretary of War and was still under the ban of excommunication from the North.

avowed that the whole Southern country already accepted emancipation from slavery as the condition of the colored race, yet pointed out that neither North nor South had yet defined what was included in emancipation. The boundaries, he conceived, were wide apart which marked political equality with the whites, on the one hand, and a simple recognition of personal liberty on the other. And he temperately argued that there could not well be negro suffrage yet, since the inferior race needed, first of all, to be trained; and this training, as well as the discipline of government, he respectfully submitted, belonged to each State.¹

Southern legislators, to be sure, were ready enough to take up such matters of a new era as equal negro trials, equal negro testimony, the legitimacy of slave marriages and slave offspring, and even to some extent the subject of equal civil rights. But to enfranchising, at once or presently, the colored inhabitants among them lately held in bondage, and admitting the broad principle of equal suffrage, regardless of race or color, or even a partial negro suffrage or negro right to hold political office, white Southerners of the native stock were mostly opposed, whether loyal or disloyal on their record, nor could the ablest arguments on the Northern side convince them to the contrary.

President Johnson's personal views on the suffrage question were, for a born Southerner, extremely liberal and open-minded, and he made them known at this early date to some Massachusetts inquirers under circumstances which deserve our utmost credence.² "The States," said the President, "are in the Union, which is one and indivisible. We must not be in too great a hurry with our reforms; it is better to let our Southern brethren reconstruct them-

¹ Johnson Ms. 1865.

² See Johnson Ms. October, 1865; conversation with George L. Stearns which was privately printed and certified by the President on a proof-sheet.

several States than force them." He wished South time to understand its new position, abolished. As to our political adversaries, Democratic party finds its old position untenable to us; we ought not to consider ourselves that. Our United States Government is a sturdy structure which rests on the broad basis of rights. The elective franchise is not a natural political one. I am not disposed on that point with the people of a State; if the people there have the army, and can control by legislation the general government has no right of voting in it. My position here is different from what it was in Tennessee. There I would try to restrict suffrage gradually: (1) to those who had property; (2) to those who could read and write; (3) with a property qualification to others—\$250. It will not do to let the negroes have the franchise now; it would breed a war of races." ¹ The point being made at this interview, that it

despite all defects of temperament or character, as, among public men of his own section in that day, truly remarkable. The task must be a stupendous one where external conviction, even though morally or religiously grounded, seeks to mould social institutions elsewhere to suit itself, and especially the institutions of an intelligent people themselves accustomed to self-rule.

This Civil War of bloodshed and lavish outlay had accomplished for human freedom what our loyal people had not dared look for at the outset of secession. And the windows of the mind being thus thrown open for a wider survey of opportunity than ever before, something of an enthusiasm, sobered by common sense, possessed the free and triumphant North, or an influential part of it, to accomplish something more for the black race at the South than the mere striking off of its shackles. The freedman, viewed in the halo of an illusive imagination by those who had come little in actual contact with him, soared to a sublimity which he was not likely soon to reach. For, as an intelligent negro poet has himself expressed it: "Slow moves the pageant of a climbing race."¹ The freedman had won strongly our Northern sympathies by his good and patient behavior, his fidelity and affection, through every stage of that terrible conflict of a higher race. It was not strange, then, if philanthropic zeal, the recognition of God's guidance in directing results, and a sense, moreover, of moral and political responsibility for the future should have impelled us to solve still further the new problem of free racial relations by methods somewhat hasty and illusive.

And, though with most of us, the desire of vengeance upon our prostrate fellow-whites yielded to compassion and forgiveness, save perhaps as to "Jeff Davis" himself and a few cruel underlings of the late Confederacy, the dread of some new rebel uprising which might deprive this Union of the hardly-won fruits of victory was ready

¹ Paul L. Dunbar.

musket, can surely handle a ballot"; "the n
ballot for his self-protection"; "the negr
South will always be cast for loyalty to the
the party which preserved it and brought raci
such was the tenor of catching phrases to w
sentiment, all these months, was gradually
withstanding a wide acceptance of the Pres
struction plan, so far as any compulsion
leaders was concerned.

More than this, certain radical leaders me
gress should be thorough. Every trace of
Southern oligarchy so lately rebellious mu
out. To such extremists, though the galle
spared, large plantation owners should hav
confiscated and divided up among the late
who had sweated without recompense. E
of reducing those lately disloyal States to t
depriving them of their old traditions see
far-fetched. Among such theorists was Cha
who, vindictive in feeling towards Southerne
race, made himself the zealous champion of ne
ment on every occasion. Condemning at onc
stand upon suffrage which the President had
his proclamation, he insisted, in a Boston orat
upon Abraham Lincoln in June, that negro s
necessity at the South and ought to be made

Thaddeus Stevens, who alone, it would seem, among the new President's correspondents, had bade him—and that with much disrespect—to wait for Congress and take no initial steps at all in reconstruction, now wrote peremptorily: "No one of the Northern leaders approves of your policy." And Medill, of the Chicago Tribune, sent a letter instructing the President that "the great doctrine of equal rights will prevail," and warning him not to go back on those who had elected him.¹

Not passionate, and yet conspicuous among those in exalted station who had cherished the ideal of a political reconstruction at the South upon the broad basis of equality of races, regardless of complexion or former social condition, was Chase, the Chief Justice, once Secretary of the Treasury, and vain aspirant in 1864 for the Presidential nomination. So eager had he been to become in his own person the grand arbiter of the two sections under such a policy that he lost no time in impressing upon President Lincoln's successor his own ideas of "universal suffrage and quick reorganization." Early in May, while Johnson was still deliberating upon a policy, he drafted in his own hand and sent to the White House an autograph address, earnestly entreating the Executive to copy, sign and promulgate that manifesto to the Southern people. This document of proxy was vigorous in expression and had the glow of eloquence. Assuming that the Southern States sustained their just relation as such, notwithstanding an impotent secession, it called earnestly upon loyal citizens throughout the late insurrectionary region to restore happy and harmonious relations with the Union as speedily as possible; but to add in their enrolment the negro race, which had done so well and deserved so much at their hands. They who had disorganized by rebellion, had of course, disqualified themselves for the work of restoration; and all reorganization should be by enrolment. A State convention should be summoned in each jurisdiction for a new State constitution or con-

¹ Johnson Ms. May–November, 1865.

amendment, expressive of new national conditions, should be no more slavery, no subjugation. Every letter Chase besought the President to address such as this and to lead on in the reformation. "Say to the people of the South that I will aid you in the reformation of your State governments and I will aid you in the reformation of your State governments and I will aid you in the reformation of your State governments."

He, assuming that the Chief Justice offered interested motives, did credit to the heart of one who had been President, and who now was even more dignified and permanent in office than only the incumbent dismiss Presidential office and for all. Its tone was fervid and its terms it was generous and comprehensive, its vagueness in suggesting who of white citizens were to be "loyal." It had but one clear fault, for a working scheme of reconstruction, it was impracticable and futile. Northern gatherings responded with heartiness to such an appeal, but not so those in the South.²



emergency (so the Johnson manuscripts show), ex-Vice-President Hamlin, Governor Morton of Indiana, Generals Dix, Thomas and Sherman, Elihu B. Washburn and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, Governor Curtin and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland and Gratz Brown of Missouri, were all prompt in assuring President Johnson of their sympathy and support. Zealously constant were Senators Dixon, Cowan and Doolittle. Francis Lieber the publicist, sent a pamphlet with friendly words of encouragement; while George Bancroft, now in scholarly retreat in New York City, gave his approving counsel in various letters.¹

of. 7

In April, 1869, or about a month after Johnson's administration ended and not before, our Supreme Court of the United States, in a test case brought upon appeal from Texas, stated the constitutional doctrine of Southern reconstruction from the judicial standpoint. ^{1869, April.} It declared this government "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States." It took the ground that Texas, notwithstanding her attempted secession, was now and had constantly been a State in the Union and that there was no way of her getting out except by a constitutional amendment granting a national assent. It also held that, upon Southern anarchy following the cessation of insurrection, President Johnson did a lawful act in setting up a valid State government, provisional in its character, and that the government which Congress substituted afterwards was also a valid government. Such a pronouncement disposed of current theories of State suicide or Congressional monopoly, on the one hand, and of reconstruction by the military Commander-in-Chief alone on the other. This decision repudiated the dogma of rightful secession by a State, under the constitution, if such repudiation remained needful at all; it

¹ See Johnson Ms., preserving such correspondence. Outlook, January 13, 1906. (W. L. F. H.)

in Congress the ultimate guaranty to each republican form of government; it also favored which I shall contend, that the harmonious co-operation of President and Congress in pursuing a just policy towards the South would have been wise at the law, as well as the most expedient

shown,² Johnson was not hostile or indifferent to the freedman; as some of his vetoes on Congress might seem to indicate, but sympathetic, without illusions on the race question. Further-respecter of State authority, he understood, from fifty years' experience has since convinced our country that however much constitutional amendment may be necessary, the express authority of our general government is not the real solution of the negro problem. At the bottom of all, upon the social, political and industrial condition of the two races in States where they live under any normal condition of things. When the issue arose so unfortunately with Congress

ings endeared to them by an irresponsible yet not wholly unhappy bondage.

The arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon towards weaker races, as compared with the Frenchman, the Spaniard, or even the German, is inveterate; and even thus early, a repugnance was manifest in free California towards the yellow influx from China which had begun. The first need, the first difficulty with our liberated blacks was to induce them to work—to support themselves, to contribute voluntarily in some way by steady toil to help rebuild the industrial fabric of such State as they might inhabit and to lay up personal treasure besides. Following the British emancipation in Jamaica, economic disorder had become chronic there. The ruined staple-raisers among the whites abandoned the island; while the blacks themselves, lazy and needing but little exertion to make a living in that country of tropical products, took their ease, working only at intervals and among congenial neighbors of their own complexion. Happily, however, as time has proved, our own Southern negro, remaining where his industrial aid was most needed, best rewarded and rendered with an intelligence already trained, has felt in his freedom the constant spur and stimulus of a higher race, intent upon their own advancement and eager to repair and renovate. Cotton has become king again at the South, as it was before the war; while free labor at length vindicates its claim to cultivate with success in place of slavery, a system wholly outworn and obsolete.

SECTION IV.

THE POLICY OF CONGRESS.

The policy initiated by President Johnson was essentially that which Abraham Lincoln had announced to his cabinet and was prepared to enter upon when ^{1865-1869.} assassinated. That predecessor had been confronted with the plans and purposes of Northern radicals

northern and Southern sensibilities! He held well together his own party supporters to the utmost any open schism. The popularity he had gained during his first term would have been to him to an extent impossible with any other President. Nor would his guidance have shown inflexible methods. Circumstances changing, his procedure changed correspondingly. He was an ingenu-
ous beginner in politics, as his course with emancipation already shown; yet having no pride of opinion in any experiment to fail or be modified when he found feasible as he had planned it.²

The present situation of the Union was as chaotic as it afforded no clear constitutional rule or guidance. While all initiative in reconstruction necessarily from the Executive, Congress was upon the work and frame final conclusions. President Johnson imposed conditions of readmission, and most likely would suggest themselves to the delegates of the people, when they met in Washington; and a renewed representation in House or Senate belonged peculiarly to each Congress to determine.

In certain aspects Andrew Johnson's was a highly unfortunate for a spirit of co-operation. His chief misfortune was due to not

have worked out to entire satisfaction. A weak Executive would probably have succumbed to the aggressive faction that knew what it wanted and pressed hard to obtain it, and that was, most of all, full and immediate enfranchisement of the colored freedman. Such a course would have turned Southern State government upside down where chaos threatened already. A war of races, some new spasm of disunion effort, utter despair among the intelligent and influential who wished restoration, recuperation and amnesty, would quite likely have resulted. Or, again, to have summoned Congress immediately or presently, and thrown the task upon a deliberate body of divided views, unprepared to legislate, would have made confusion worse confounded. Promptness and despatch on the Executive part, decision and energy were imperative in those early months, both for ending military operations successfully, so that a vast and costly volunteer army might be released, and for restoring some kind of social order through the area of the late Confederacy, Provisional civil governors, or else Union generals with local civil authority, had to be selected and placed in Southern State command, without waiting for Congressional guidance. It was, in fine, an Executive and not a Congressional situation, during those first months of this new administration. 10

What wiser or safer course, then, for such an emergency, than for the newly promoted Executive to inaugurate the very plan and policy towards the collapsing Confederacy that Abraham Lincoln himself had already devised, and upon which the whole Lincoln cabinet, still holding office, composed an administration harmonious and united? For patriotism, energy and courage, both in winding up the conflict, and in bringing broad statesmanship to the problem of pacification, no Vice-President likely to have been a candidate in 1864 could have been better qualified in the whole country; and Johnson's intimate knowledge, moreover, of the South and of present Southern conditions, made him of invaluable service for reunion, could only the North trust him far enough. Johnson was a Southerner; Southern in antecedents and ante-bellum

and true.

This was Johnson's serious misfortune. To our Northern people he was a stranger. His humble birth and bringing wide belief that he was ignorant, illiterate, incapable. He was presumed violent and irascible. He was really self-restrained and sound of judgment and habits, despite the one recent circumstance as Vice-President that might well raise a question of him, were pure and wholesome, and the while he occupied it as father, husband and friend, was constantly the abode of domestic love. For counsel and encouragement, as well as when lonely and tired, he must have resorted to this inner home circle, and all the more, since the men who surrounded him in public intercourse seems to have had a real guidance or influence comes from close intimacy. For all that we can show, many of his most important public acts were always judicious—were upon his sole responsibility in plan and action, though always honest endeavor.

It was, indeed, unfortunate for Johnson as President, that his free confidence, amounting rather in open speech to a chance multitude, was not confined to those associated with him in high station.

the sheet-anchor of our written charter, at a time when leaders dominant in this Union had come to care little for any rule but that of safety as the supreme law, to be construed by themselves. Being, withal, somewhat advanced in years, his best national acquaintance was rather with statesmen of the past, and he had not the elasticity or buoyancy of spirit which draws younger associates into confidence, and makes them heralds of one's will. Washington had leaned upon such rising aspirants as Hamilton and Madison, while Jackson's youthful supporters smoothed always his path in politics; but there was an elderly reserve and reticence in this new President which, in view of his supremacy, discouraged confidence with conservative sympathizers of a younger set on the floor of Congress, who could and would have helped and supported him better, had he shown them his inner purpose. Johnson as President, while dealing fairly with all advisers, chose no bosom friends, no intimates; and more and more, as the tide of parties on either side ebbed from him, he stood solitary, a monument of sincere official devotion, but gradually deserted and forsaken. To this and indeed to his want of tact, flexibility and adaptiveness in dealing with members of Congress, and for drawing closer those once sympathizing with his views, was chiefly due the ill-success of his nobly cherished and genuine wish to be in person the pacificator of North and South, to bind and heal the wounds inflicted by Civil War and effect a rational and lasting reunion for the centuries to come.

When this Congress came together, December 4th, 1865, there should have been a frank and accommodating temper shown on either side; for the Executive had done its full duty, and if more remained for accomplishment, 1865, December, - to round out the work of readmission, now that the South had fully confessed its defeat, each department of government should have found co-operation from the other. No sign appeared of grateful appreciation for the President's services in giving rebellion its quietus; 1866, February.

gance and distrust. He was but a Magistrate; and why should he have confidence, to make these terms with rebels? A Southerner and a former enemy, easy to suspect and to spread the suspicion false to the Union party which had elected him President, a renegade, a reactionist and an enemy of the unflinching loyalist and man of honor who has always been. By "reactionist," in the South, they often designate those who are really acting a path wiser and safer than our own.

This jealous temper had grown with the progress of the President's policy among the seceded States. Most persons of real influence in the Southern States had espoused secession and were now either reconciled to the old Union under the general amnesty or were still in the hands of the rebels, whether reluctantly, like Alexander H. Stephens, or with eager confidence; but nearly all were now reconciled to the old Union under the general amnesty. Lee set an example of approval. He was included in the terms of the amnesty and pardon was extended to him. Leaders of the seceded States and capacity took up the work of reconciliation in their several States at the South, so that the President's terms, honorable with the President's terms, unite in the re-establishment of national unity. There was no hypocrisy or pretence in this.



from the background, served to increase the dislike of that Northern aggressive element, which was pressing for domination in the present Congress. It was easy to imagine that such Southerners, coming back to participate again in Union affairs, would, under this Southern President,—who was ambitious, perchance, of another term,—make alliance at the North against the party of moral ideas and achievement, overthrow Republicanism at the polls and gain the citadel of national patronage. For selfishness and self-seeking are more readily imputed to leaders in our politics than sincerity or a noble purpose. Already had the alarm been sounded that the nation's Executive was usurping the control of government, holding Congress as a mere auxiliary.

A struggle now impended at Washington with the radical faction which strove to control, revengeful and visionary. But first of all, a resolution passed Congress, by a strict party vote following a party caucus, which created a joint commission of fifteen members for the two Houses together, to whom the whole subject of representation from States lately in rebellion (now eleven in number) should be referred without debate.¹ This was at once a menace and affront to President Johnson and his policy, and must have wounded his feelings the more deeply because it shut the door in the face of his own State of Tennessee, which he, while provisional governor, had reorganized with President Lincoln's full approval, and among whose waiting delegation, undoubtedly loyal, was his own son-in-law, Patterson, just chosen to the Senate. Congress, to be sure, had the clear right to decide upon its representation; but the constitution states that each branch shall pass upon the credentials of its own members. As a matter of fact the House was more radically made up than the Senate.

*Joint
Commission
7 15.*

The President's opening message² contrasted in spirit with such hostile demonstration. As Mr. Rhodes says of

¹ V. Rhodes, 541-545.

² See p. 5.

...the self-respecting attitude of
was not to its mind; before the fatted calf
it wanted abasement from the prodigal
sin and a prayer to be forgiven. Nor
and his humane advancement to be forg

L
R-
W-
S.
The master spirits of this thirty-nine
ling humanity and vengeance together,
in view, were Sumner in the Senate, w
negro were lofty, though his sympat
intellectual, and Thaddeus Stevens in
of whip and spur, not over scrupulous
age and public experience confirmed the
long exerted,² but who had little of th
kindness in him that was not sourec
Massachusetts lion, incited action by
other, "the old commoner" of Pennsylv
to be called, silenced party doubters you
by his caustic sarcasm. Both were states
will. Both came to Washington, this w
to undo the President's policy. If John
by disposition, they were even more so.

Sumner, after a first and fruitless int
drew Johnson himself, undertook to det
cabinet advisers. To Welles, whom h
recreancy, as New England's representat
istration, he repeatedly denounced the l
in violent terms. "It is -"

some what later, by pronouncing it simply the greatest "mistake" instead of "crime."¹ It would fail, it must fail, and Congress would overturn it. In somewhat such a strain were this winter's radical speeches in the two Houses and the comments of the radical press. Thaddeus Stevens was coarse and abusive; Sumner likened Johnson's conciliatory message to one of President Pierce's whitewashing reports of Kansas outrages; and various were the allusions in one house or the other to Charles I. and Parliament, with the charge that the President had usurped powers which belonged to the legislature. Because of a few local appointments in the South, found indispensable by the Treasury for enforcing the revenue laws, and agreed to by the whole cabinet and the President, this administration was violently accused in later debate with appointing Southern rebels purposely to office, men who could not take the "ironclad" oath.²

All this fierce onslaught, Andrew Johnson bore for nearly the whole winter with admirable equanimity, nor could those who counselled or called upon him find occasion for blame. That he was warm-hearted and would have responded to conciliating efforts of the majority of these two Houses to reach harmonious results, his magnanimous treatment of leaders in his own section who had wronged him in former years fairly indicates. But he stood his own ground.

We know well from report how different Presidents have comported themselves in public intercourse with visitors. Washington received with a dignified state that would now be thought impossible, holding stiff levees and granting or refusing an official audience, even with Senators. John Adams—and Jackson, too—while gracious and affable enough when all went well, showed temper and would even storm at visitors who offended. Jefferson, in negligent undress, received callers kindly, and discussed politics or philosophy while pulling at the heels of his

¹ Welles's Diary, Dec. 8, 1865, Jan. 8, 1866.

² McCulloch, Men and Measures, 232.

assaults made upon his loyalty and re-
heart he was of tough texture when sorely
the Republican members of Congress w
kindly disposed towards him and believe
policy of reconstruction which he had cho
Welles says, he could and should have de
extremists.¹ But, unfortunately for John
touch in politics was not in him, and fo
suffer. To stand quietly upon his execu
and let things take their course in Congre
best thing for him to do, and this he attempt

Naturally enough, the subject uppermo
of this President's party critics, was to asce
of the emancipated and take measures to
Two military reports on existing South
which the President had elicited were sent
in December, in response to a request. One
Grant, which was wholly favorable, pi
situation safe and Southern citizens hone
return to self-government within the Un
possible; the other by Carl Schurz, ap
immediate danger of renewed insurrectio
scale, noted that the late insurgents show
criminality in the contest they had wag
national feeling; and it advocated more len



objection, as fostering in Southern States something of a costly military despotism. With a cabinet approval,¹ Johnson returned the bill, therefore, with a veto message, sensible and dignified, avowing on his own part that he shared with Congress a strong desire to give to the colored freedman adequate security and protection. The bill failed to pass over his objections by two-thirds and the measure was lost.² All the while a military force had been kept by the President in this conquered region as a general safeguard.

This veto hardened the temper of the mortified majority in both branches. On the day the bill failed finally, (February 20, 1866) the House showed its resentment by adopting a joint resolution (in which the Senate concurred somewhat later), that no Senator or Representative should be admitted from any of the eleven Southern States now excluded until Congress had declared such State entitled to representation.³

Both branches at the Capital adjourned over February 22d, Washington's birthday anniversary; and this holiday is memorable for two political incidents, relative to the growing difference between the Executive and Congress.⁴ Of one, the speech to a serenading crowd which the President made from the White House balcony in the evening, and which astonished and alarmed the whole country by its rudeness and violence, I may remark that political habit in Tennessee had made him chiefly confiding of his feelings to some out-of-door gathering of the people than, as with most men, to friends and intimates. On this occasion he was stirred by the calls and questionings of casual hearers to say, while excited, more than he had meant to when he began, and, in fact, to open his heart where hitherto maintaining a prudent and

¹ *Ib.*, February 13, 1866. Harlan and Speed were regretful, but only Stanton opposed the veto.

² V. Rhodes, 551-571.

³ *Ib.*, 572.

⁴ See *post*, Section V. as to the two incidents at length.

* During exp. the coincidence was probably fortuitous (61).

A voice from the crowd called upon
named Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stev
Phillips. All this, the righteous wrath o
which might well enough have found v
in the bosom of his family or before a
advisers, could not but injure John
openly into the ears of an irresponsible c
execrable taste and temper. It wider
breach with the majority of Johnson's p
It disconcerted his friends and suppor
increased the opposition to him, and s
impression that he was violent in tem
unfit for his office.

By friends of the President, however, v
allowance for his feelings and provocatio
Governor Cox and the Postmaster Gen
men—an effort was made with the del
State, headed by John Sherman, to heal
now too plainly visible. A Civil Rights l
the Southern negro was already pendin
having passed the Senate early in Februa
February—it was hoped, the President wo
May. more into accord with the two Ho
his approval when that measure reached
however, there was no deference by C
Executive views, no conciliation, no c
compact but only a

more difficult and provoke him to another veto, Stevens in the House, March 10, at a last stage of debate, made a coarse and malignant assault upon the President by way of reply to his White House speech. The bill, as finally passed, went to Andrew Johnson, now once more composed in manner, bland and dignified. After full deliberation, having consulted with his cabinet, he took the responsibility of returning the bill to the Senate with a veto message, ably written, and forcible in stating his objections.¹ And now came the test of a final passage in the Senate, notwithstanding the veto, by a two-thirds' vote. Only upon an earnest canvass could those two-thirds be obtained, the Democrats in that body sustaining the Executive. But some moderate Republicans, who had hitherto favored the President, though wavering, now deserted him, while Stockton, a Democratic Senator from New Jersey, had just been unseated; hence by a single sufficient vote the Civil Rights bill went through the chamber in which it had originated; and the House by an ample two-thirds adding its own approval, the measure became a law, over the President's objection.²

2^d Veto.
March 21

Quite likely Johnson had expected his veto sustained as before, in which case he would have been in a position to dictate terms. But a two-thirds vote once enrolled against him in each House, the dominant party henceforth confirmed its sway in legislation, and Johnson's vetoes, however well based in principle, were from this date onward treated with contempt and met promptly ~~a~~ reversal. Near the close of this same first session, in fact, an amended Freedman's Bureau bill, which omitted some of the harsh original features, passed Congress, reached the President, was returned with objections, as before, and then passed over the veto, with scarce a comment.³

3^d Veto.

Unquestionably it would have been wiser and more

¹ That this message of the President was dignified and temperate, and expressed as though with a consciousness that he was taking a dangerous step, see V. Rhodes, 583.

² V. Rhodes, 583-586 (April, 1866).

³ *Ib.*, 598.

wishes of prominent Northern men, such as William L. Cox and Henry Ward Beecher, both of whom strongly urged to sign the bill because it was right. Such action would harmonize the feelings of the North and ought not to differ.² By vetoing, in fact, Lincoln strengthened the Northern impression that the bill was ferent to the welfare of the colored man; that it partake of the humane sentiment of the time; that the race now liberated and turned to the rising Rights bill meant kindness and protection towards the nation, and though some provisions for enforcement were objectionable, yet they were justified by the visions and under the check of the judiciary.

Yet, on the other hand, it should be remembered that the President, upholding in heart the principle of the bill in a constitutional sense, might justly have yielded to his honest conviction against a legislative measure at the other end of the avenue, which had shone brightly, thus far, but disdained. Whether to inter-

² Welles's Diary, March 23, 26, 1846, shows Welles strongly urging a veto. Seward, who came nearest to quiescing, disapproved certain features of the bill, but was himself always in favor of a measure which should please the citizens. All the others (Speed being ill and absent) gave their approval.



improve the present opportunity for reuniting his party support must have seemed to him less a question of expediency than of conscience. For, in point of fact, neither the Civil Rights act nor that passed subsequently against Johnson's wishes for the Freedman's Bureau ever accomplished the practical good expected from it; and in later years our Supreme Court sustained the main legal objection which the offending message here offered. If Johnson still felt the bitterness of resentment towards Congress, there was nothing in his official utterance here to show it. Reinstatement with his party, under existing circumstances, could have meant nothing less than a surrender.

The real opportunity for harmonizing the Executive with Congress, as it seems to me, was yet to follow, when the two Houses passed presently the XIVth Amendment to the Constitution and sent it forth in June under their joint two-thirds proposal for the States in general to adopt. That amendment was in the nature of a new condition for Southern reconstruction—a formulation of the terms with which Congress chose at this time to supplement the President's scheme of a speedy reunion and representation, though in point of fact the radical element of that body—men like Stevens and Sumner—took careful heed that it should not be definitely announced as a new condition of readmission and still less as a pledge of finality. Shaped out by the more judicious and moderate of Republican members, such as Trumbull, Fessenden and Sherman of the Senate, this Amendment was in substance and expression wholly admirable. As to terms set forth, ~~present constitutional objections~~ were met by an express grant of power to enforce by appropriate legislation. (1) It re-stated the rule of citizenship and of civil rights in life, liberty and property, under the new status of freedom, equality and equal protection, regardless of former servitude.¹ (2) It left suffrage, as before,

¹ Not Negroes alone, but those of Asiatic and other races, may claim equal consideration with the white man under the broad language of this provision, as the Supreme Court has since held.

the Executive right to pardon which relational prosecution and penalties. (4) It affirmed the validity of the public debt of the Union during the rebellion, while repudiating that indebtedness on the rebellion's behalf; and this simply enlarged, as President's own terms to which South already acceded.

True, Congress proposed this Amendment to the States, as the Constitution intended, without a President's approval or disapproval at a time when for a safe and speedy adoption the President's will and influence with the excluded States were of great importance. Here, then, was Johnson's real opportunity to end the strife, by urging those of his own section to accept that new pledge of pacification as the general principle of Congress; and I am surprised that neither those of Congress seem to have pointed out this season and urged such a course.² The President never really revolting at the terms of this Amendment, transmitted it in due official form through the War Department, with an address of neutral explanation; he, instead, pressed specially its adoption on his fellow-citizens still under the ban of Congressional disapproval. In simple and earnest language, the legislatures of the States could hardly have failed to respond to

out delay; and thus, whatever their action, he would have broadened his own excellent policy and convinced the moderates of Congress,—or better still, our Union voters at large, who were soon to choose a new House of Representatives,—that he was patriotic and sincere, a statesman truly zealous of establishing the reunion of North and South on a just and permanent basis. He need not have applauded the terms of this XIVth Amendment, though they were worthy of applause. He might have put the whole responsibility for proposing that Amendment upon Congress, for it was none of his. But he could have announced this as the ultimate practical condition which that body had seen fit to superadd to his own, and asked the prompt acceptance as an assurance of returning loyalty and good faith. Only the third proposition of that Amendment was a difficult one to make palatable to Southern legislators, and that difficulty was by no means conclusive. Southern leaders of secession were prepared for sacrifice in any case, and such political penalties could not have seemed severe, while criminal liability was forgiven.

However, the opportunity passed, like a summer's cloud, and, once lost heedlessly, it was lost forever. From henceforth, and as it proved, for the rest of Johnson's entire term, Congress had a safe two-thirds in both branches, instead of a majority, unified against him. ~~and~~ the breach with this Executive became irreparable.¹ 17

Conceding the strength of Johnson's constitutional objections to the vetoed bills on general grounds, there seems less force in his special argument, repeatedly stated, that this Congress had excluded representatives of the South, who, if admitted, might have prevented a passage. Were such an objection sound it should have vitiated other legislation than the few bills which he ever found occasion to veto. It was no new thing for these two Houses at Washington to carry on the business of govern-

¹ V. Rhodes, c. 30.

the so-called seceding States represented. It had been the course ever since 1861. And these revolutionary commonwealths had their own representation voluntarily, left them the right to be represented again, on their own terms, now that revolution had failed. The deliberations of the Congress they had deserted was a failure. For whether such States were logically excluded from the Union, the question of their full restoration of political rights was a practical one, and it must be a matter of sufficient importance to suggest that it was not so important enough for an Executive to suggest that a legislature *de facto* was incompetent to legislate. President Johnson confined his complaint of the exclusion to the single instance of his own State. It might have convinced, and would certainly have afforded occasion for popular sympathy. That a suffering State had deserved readmission was never the delay in Congress with the other States, fair-minded Republicans of the two Houses would concede before this first session closed.



be restored to former political relations in the Union, except by consent of the law-making power of the United States.¹

On the last day of the session, accordingly, Tennessee's delegation, which had long stood waiting outside, became fully seated, just in time to see the two Houses adjourn with their work completed. This concession, ungraciously made,² was the first and only one that any Congress of the United States ever made or appeared to make, to President Johnson, by way of yielding to his stubborn wishes.³ And, so far as I can discover, it came nearest to a Congressional promise—and that but an inferential one—that if other excluded States ratified quickly the XIVth Amendment they, too, would be readmitted.

This long-drawn session ended on Saturday, the 28th of July; and the issue before the people, confined as it never should have been, to the President's naked scheme and conditions of Southern reconstruction, on the one hand, as against those, on the other, which Congress might add or substitute—or rather, as one should say, to prompt and immediate reunion, as State reconstruction already stood, against a further delay which Congress had failed to define—went now to the country for decision at the polls.

SECTION V.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

I have said that the anniversary of February 22, 1866, was doubly memorable politically.⁴ Andrew Johnson's influence as Chief Executive and sectional Reconciler may be said to have culminated on that date. He had ^{1866,} now been President for more than ten months, and ^{Feb. 22.} on the whole had administered the government well, carrying himself with dignity and decorum. Delegations and visitors from all quarters of the Union had been

¹ U. S. Stats. at Large, July 24, 1866.

² Senator Patterson, President Johnson's son-in-law, was halted specially for an investigation of his Union record, which was found unimpeachable. ³ Newspapers; V. Rhodes, 597, 598. ⁴ *Supra*, p. 54.

2,
0 went, than that of their chief aggressive spo
wards him. No breach among the President's
was thus far visible. Congress, up to that date
nothing for reconstruction—had framed no con
amendment—/ but had simply kept out the
States and legislated for the freedmen.

What made this 22d of February so signific
day in our politics was: (1) The holding of No
day mass meetings, to sustain the President in
(2) Johnson's unfortunate speech made at 1
on his own behalf in the evening.

(1) For the public celebration of this 2
gatherings were planned in Northern cities
the President's policy as against all obstruc
Congress. With eleven Southern States exc
representation, a majority, though not two-th
branch, was against the Executive. The moni
stration of this kind—and a notable one inde
the Cooper Institute, New York City, in t
Francis B. Cutting, a prominent citizen social;
bar, who had once served a term in Congres
and among those who figured in an imposing li
were Hamilton Fish, William C. Bryant, Da
Field, Senator Edwin D. Morgan, and Re
Henry J. Raymond. There was an immense
Among the chief orators w



escape from assassination and a more recent domestic bereavement, enhanced the sympathy of his fellow-citizens upon this significant reappearance. Always an attractive orator because of what he said, though without the gift of eloquence, Seward spoke amid a storm of cheers and applause. His speech was a deliberate and thoughtful one, as habitual to him in composition, and deserves a close study. Between the lines we may read that he feared an approaching breach in the great Union party that had won in 1864; that his effort was to prevent such a breach, to soothe, to reassure, and keep down the antagonism developing between White House and Capitol Hill, among statesmen of fierce and obstinate temper. He said nothing of vetoes, nor of negro rights, nor of rebel guarantees; but he argued most strongly against all vindictive procrastination of peace; he protested against the present disposition of Congress to keep States indefinitely out and unrepresented; he opposed all proconsular or imperial government in the late region of armed insurrection. To the vindictive of his party associates he quoted with point the two fathers of a familiar comedy, whose children, after much tribulation of disobedience, had come into the marriage originally planned for them. "Why not forgive?" says the one; "it has all turned out at last as you wished it." "Damn it," says the other, "because I have not had my own way of having it."

"There never was and never can be," continued Seward, "any successful process for restoration and harmony among the States except the one which the President has undertaken." At the same time, he contended that the whole difference at the present time was one of pilots. "The country is completely safe," he proclaimed, "and will not be saved over again in this day and generation. It will be safe if you approve what the President says; it will be safe if you approve what the majority in Congress says; safe if you believe what they both say; safe, too, if you disbelieve and reject what they all say."¹

¹ Outlook, February 3, 1906 (author); newspapers of the day.

the next morning's paper, this strange Washington, quickly sent broadcast the telegraph and reported without any gloss over its worst expressions.² With zeal revealed on the part of a President, them, Johnson's popular support in the Civil War began to fail him. How vocation which had aroused this bur smothered wrath, no President could (as McCulloch has observed) "without estimation of thoughtful men."³

The antagonism between President Congress, which I have traced through the March- first confronted each other, was July. sides were now clearly at fault, calls of the two Houses, whose grasp grew henceforth continually stronger, we having given the first offence to an strength of character and independence respect, and whose natural combativeness were heedless of provoking. For the outbreak of February 22, Johnson resur patient demeanor. But mutual hostile situation developed.

Cabinet changes occurred before Con



willing to seem arrayed against Congress. With Randall, Browning and Stanbery their vacancies were well supplied. All was courtesy and consideration on withdrawing so far as these three were concerned; but from Stanton came no tender of resignation, though the President had expected it by this time. While loud and emphatic in approving the President's course to his face, eager to keep his office, that subtle Secretary appeared non-committal or averse, in his advice on details of policy, and as one who was known to confer frequently with radicals of Congress most bitter against the administration, Welles and McCulloch both suspected him of duplicity.¹

The national situation was, indeed, as Seward had stated it in his speech of February 22: the country was completely saved, and would not be saved over again in the present generation. Of this, at least, we may now feel assured. And hence, as McCulloch has well observed, the present difference between Executive and Legislature should have been taken without bitter temper, as an honest difference of opinion on both sides. That difference consisted in what and how much should be required of Southern States before they resumed their places in the Union which they had done their best to destroy. Congress should have contented itself with legislating by a two-thirds vote, as it had the power and the right to do, and Johnson himself should have been content with exercising his veto.² Best of all would it have been, as I have already contended, could both Congress and the President have come together on the distinct understanding that the XIVth Amendment was to be held forth as really the added condition of Congress, complete in itself, for the full and sufficient basis of prompt Southern readmission. Such an understanding was not impossible, and, even without an understanding, the President might have presented it to North and South as his own amended platform and policy. For conditions to be accepted by

¹ See Diary, April 14, May 1, July 18, 1866; V. Rhodes, 611.

² Men and Measures, 404, 405.

completion of a new Congress.
August. national sense, the Presidential
direct controversy; but who, in
gressional districts, should be chosen to t
and of what components State Legisla
vacancies in the Senate would be made u

On the President's behalf a grand con
arranged for Philadelphia, at which sal
and South, should fraternize as bre
Planned in June under White House aus
and Doolittle of the Senate and Raymc
co-operating, Johnson's cabinet, as rearra
But Stanton's hostility was disclosed at
ing held early in August. Bunting, to be
ing the "wigwam" at Philadelphia, had
at the War Department. Stanton had n
ing with a sneer, that he would turn ov
to the Secretary of the Navy. Welle
spirit: "My ~~own~~ bunting has always
shown, and it would be well if ~~my coll~~
~~give~~ us a sight of his." Stanton colorec
this palpable hit, and then said frankly
posed to the convention.¹

This "National Union" convention, s
met in Philadelphia, August 14th, openin
of the political campaign in good earnest.
has said of it. it was "a noble and natri

Delegates from Massachusetts and South Carolina walked into the convention hall, arm in arm, amid the cheers of the assembled spectators. Southern spokesmen earnestly pledged their section to negro emancipation, henceforth and forever. Every State in the Union was represented at this gathering by citizens of rank, influence and respectability, many of whom had been nationally distinguished under the old régime, or were to be in years to come; Winthrop and Tilden among them. Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin was the permanent presiding officer, and Senator Dixon figured in the proceedings.

Senator Cowan of Pennsylvania presented on the third day the resolutions, which were adopted by acclamation, the whole audience rising and cheering. They proclaimed that slavery was forever abolished in the Union and that the emancipated race should receive equal protection, throughout the land, in every right of person and property; they denied secession as a dogma, declaring the Union of these States perpetual; they repudiated all war debt incurred on behalf of the late Confederacy, and affirmed the validity of that for sustaining the Union, in substantially the language of the proposed XIVth Amendment. To that Amendment itself no direct allusion was made; but, while distinctly recognizing the right of Congress to propose amendments to the Constitution, these resolutions asserted, for all the States alike, an equal and infeasible right to a voice and vote as to ratifying. Representation in Congress was claimed, moreover, for every State, subject to the right of each House to determine for itself.¹

It was a bright episode of sunshine while it lasted, but the clouds of gloomy distrust and discord were soon to gather again. Such sectional reconstruction was premature and upon insufficient assurance to the country. The angels of our better nature, hovering for a brief space over the city of brotherly affection, fled back like the earliest dove from Noah's ark, finding no sure resting

¹ Newspapers; V. Rhodes, 614, 615.

Federal soldiers still guarded, were charged directly the rowdy inciters of the white rumors were rife, besides, that the President rebels there to force Union men to leave the collision of a similar kind was also reported.¹ Such incidents were not unnatural in the disordered social condition of Southern States; they might have happened anywhere; they were of local character; the local leaders in that section were competent to deal with them. Rioters, whether white or black, were mostly of the rabble.

Our President, who had shown a better judgment in dealing with such Southern outbreaks than little perhaps, the depth of Northern complicity in the negro at this time, or the growth of Northern prejudice upon such evidence, that the colored freedmen should be trusted wholly to the merciful protection of the white race. Taking but little pains to assuage such feelings, he hurt himself at once by a most untimely speech, when the Philadelphia resolutions were read to him, at a "self-assumed Congress," which represented "only part of the States." At once wild rumors spread a foolish report that he was meditating a *d'état*; and the "Dixie-Doolittle" convention of Republican regulars styled it in derision, soon lost



Philadelphia convention had attempted,—was the stump-speaking campaign through Northern States which Andrew Johnson next persuaded himself to undertake. This “swinging round the circle,” as he termed it, brought before Northern voting crowds, with different characteristics, a sort of heart-to-heart colloquy and appeal which Johnson had used with great effect among his own familiar people at the South. But the style failed to win these constituencies strange to him, where political enemies had already begun scattering the seeds of distrust and disbelief, and his whole journey went down in history as a disastrous and discrediting failure.

Against, however, the caricaturing reports of that journey in hostile radical presses, the powerful but opprobrious cartoons of Thomas Nast, the artist,¹ and the widely-read letters of “Petroleum V. Nasby,” one of the newspaper wits of that day who lampooned Southern politics and Southern sincerity with gibes and bad spelling, one may set the narrative of Secretary Welles, in his Diary, written in sober earnest and with fair appreciation. Welles, as one of the Presidential party through that whole tour, quietly witnessed all public demonstrations on the route from the inner circle of observation. Upon his return he penned a close description in his Diary, with comments such as occurred to him.²

The trip, as we thus gather, lasted from August 28th to Saturday, the 15th of September. The occasion of it was a ceremonious dedication, in Chicago, of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas, at which the President was invited to officiate, bringing his suite with him. The party was a large one of both sexes, and included Seward, Welles and Randall of the cabinet, with General Grant and Admiral Farragut (both of whom, in a sense, attended under orders from the Commander-in-Chief), besides lesser

¹ One of Nast's cartoons pictured the President with the Ex-Confederates, as skulking fellow-pirates, using decoy colors on their vessel to capture and scuttle the approaching ship of “Union.”

² Diary, Sept. 17, 1866, at length. Cf. V. Rhodes, 618, etc.

returned by a more southerly route to
ping over at Indianapolis, Louisville
Pittsburgh.

The reception accorded the nation's c
long journey varied considerably with th
of the region traversed. The start was e
through Pennsylvania and New York.
Empire State were hospitable and at
tinguished local citizens shared in the su
Governor Fenton, with the State Senat
teous reception at Albany, though pol
thetic, while in Buffalo ex-President
welcome. But, once over the Ohio line
discourtesy to the point of rowdy an
manifest at points both in Ohio and Ir
itated insult to the President first showe
land, on the westward route, and was hi
Indianapolis on the return. But for tl
Chicago all was decorous and respectful, v
the reception was "magnificent" as We
of heartiness and political accord. Lou
the party a cordial reception, though I
fested repugnance.

"The governors of Ohio, Indiana, Ill
Missouri and Pennsylvania" says Welle
all absent. In Ohio and Pennsylvania
State and



people took the hospitalities of reception into their own hands. Under such circumstances, however, just as Vallandigham at the Union convention in Philadelphia had been coughed down with difficulty, former "copper-heads" now thrust forward, in some places, with the rest, for a non-partisan demonstration which the travellers could not escape, to the growing disgust of General Grant and some others of the party, Republicans of the straitest sect holding back.¹

It was under such diverse and often annoying and embarrassing conditions that President Johnson made constant extempore speeches, in banquets or from balconies, to sets of listeners greatly contrasting, and while stirred sometimes to grateful emotion and sometimes deeply irritated. At Cleveland there was plainly a concerted plan to stop his speaking by making rude interruptions. And there, although the President held his own for his remarks, he was drawn by open insults into unseemly altercation, lowering his official dignity, as though heedless of the true line which separates a constituted ruler from a mob. That speech and some figurative remarks made at St. Louis, were widely reported to his injury, so that hoodlum yells and howls greeted him at Indianapolis on the return journey, when he appeared on the hotel balcony, and he had to withdraw in silence. That crowning insult was so deplored by citizens and the local press, that, before departing for Louisville, the next forenoon, Johnson was induced to present himself once more for a speech, and a different crowd of Indianapolis, this time respectful enough, listened to all he said with attention.²

All these were but passing phases of a swiftly changing panorama. And when this tour had ended, Welles and

¹ Diary, Sept. 17, 1866.

² *Ib.*; newspapers. In V. Rhodes, 617-621, the Cleveland speech is quoted at length, with other allusions. Information reached the President, charging that men were hired at Cleveland by his enemies to interrupt his remarks. Johnson Ms.

supporters. Others, including Andrew self, felt more sanguine and were confident they who carefully read the reports of influence by this time roundly abusive of the President, culing whatever he had said or done on the the canvass now nearly reached the sword's discussion—grew thoroughly distrustful of Executive and were ready to believe the worst designs freely imputed to him.

Perhaps the most offensive to the thought voters—as it was certainly the worst in point was what Johnson said at a banquet in St. time excited by over-zealous friends, who spoke to violent denunciation, as on the birth-night Washington. To a figure of speech, common one-sided comparison, he gave a turn, in vehemence, not meaning, I am sure, to be irreverent yet shocking, naturally, most who heard it, trumpeted outside as blasphemous.²

Andrew Johnson was in point of fact a careful and reverent reader of his Bible; and scriptural quotations often turned to good effect. In his New York where he had been in happier mood, saying to the Southerners that he did not want to have them return into the Union, debased and degraded, but with return with all their manhood, he burst forth with the utterance: "Now that I have seen the



tion, let thy servant depart in peace." And, warmly denying all apostasy on his part, through ambition to be re-elected President,—an imputation readily made in our politics, against any President of importance, and made freely in the present instance—he continued, with fervor: "I would rather live in history in the affections of my countrymen, as the one who had consummated this great result [of sectional reconciliation] than be President of the United States forty times."¹ And this homely utterance was as genuine, we may feel assured, as mortal Executive ever made.

To recur now to a painful topic which I have touched upon before, the question has arisen whether the President's harangues on this tour, or any of them, were made under the influence of liquor. Mr. Rhodes cites McPherson's History to the effect that the journey was, in some aspects, "an indecent orgy"; and he, on his own part, positively asserts that Johnson was intoxicated when he addressed the crowd at Cleveland.² I challenge the proof of these cruel statements. Not only do I find the evidence for such charges wholly wanting, but not even a responsible charge made by anyone who was an eye-witness, nor indeed, a clear contemporary charge of the kind at all. McCulloch's vindication is strong, emphatic and conclusive as to the President's abstinence while in Washington, however coarse or violent might have been the staple of his off-hand speeches made there.³ And Welles, conspicuous in this travelling party, while again and again showing dislike of the speeches of his chief before crowds, everywhere imports, in his Diary, as though for granted, that all the President said or did was while in normal condition and with full self-control. This excursion was of no stag party of public men, travelling with merely the social restraints of their own sex; but

*See Rhodes
in N. Y. Review
Feb. 1866*

¹ New York Times, August 30, 1866.

² V. Rhodes, 618, citing McPherson's Rebellion, 134.

³ *Supra*, p. 24.

conscious of its own
I confess, as to myself, that for forty years I
began investigating this administration I
believed that some of those off-hand speeches
good taste and propriety, came from a
strong drink; while for such belief the
first, Johnson's admitted lapse when
President's chair,² and, second, the style of
speeches themselves, so different in style
from his official papers, all of which were
and dignity. I now think otherwise.
ground, it appears almost certain that
made some private vow or pledge, when
dent, that his earlier offence should not
one who thus resolves and wholly or even
is a moral hero. As for the second group
these Presidential harangues and colloquies
shows that they are not incoherent or
the earlier instance, but vehement, clear
to the point, as of one who well understood
meant, but became worked up in feeling
has observed of these strange off-hand
were such as had characterized Johnson
voters from the time he first began fighting
up in public life from the tailor's bench, I
could not help making when his war speech
(To throw off the garb of privilege and

himself by origin and born one of the plain poor-white commoners of the South, who were yet keen observers of their candidates, and cast their own votes, standing up to be counted if needful, had become to him a second nature.

Another reason for believing that this President put no alcoholic infusion into his present oratory is the fact that he preserved among his manuscripts some newspaper reports of the colloquial harangues of this year against Congress, with verbal corrections by the pen, as though not ashamed of his own retorts to his tormentors.¹ Welles shows us that he returned from this western tour strong in the conviction that his speeches had actually helped his cause.²

Since Johnson's day the American people have changed much in views as to what Presidential dignity requires. The fact that a Chief Executive should stump about zealously, to promote his own policy, appeared to most of us an indecorum in that simpler era. But now we accept such a course, and, more than this, the personal canvass of a President or of a Presidential aspirant, for election or a re-election, first, in order to get delegates for the candidate convention of his party, and next, if nominated a candidate, for the electoral majority at the polls; with such prolonged vivacity and eagerness bestowed for months on his own behalf that one may well dread an apoplectic stroke following leap year, before the inauguration of the people's choice. We have seen, too, of late, a President in office, vituperative to the last degree in denunciation and abuse of those opposing him, and yet all the stronger for it with the people, because they believe him honestly indignant and sincere. But Johnson, in his time, lost instead of gained by such vehemence because a Southerner, so that Northern voters grew incredulous of his patriotism and sincerity and suspected him of being false both to the Union and humanity.

Grant and Farragut were unquestionably the lions of

¹ See Johnson Ms. in Library of Congress.

² Diary, Sept. 17, 1866.

for his present course, Seward was put to the public reception given to the President at Albany, Governor Fenton passing him and making the introductions to the audience. In possession, however, he quickly stepped forward and said "I am among old friends and scenes and need no introduction from any one"; and he at once gave a hearty salute and shake hands cordially with all who came near him.¹ On the return journey, the President had a cholera attack during the night passing from Louisville to Cincinnati, and was obliged to leave the party and travel homeward in his private car. He was overtaken at Pittsburgh, lying so sick, in fact, that it was feared he would not live to reach home. When President Johnson hurried in to see him, he lay on a couch, Seward grasped his hand, and in a low but strong voice: "I believe your course is right, and it is my duty to sustain it. If I live, I will sustain it. Pursue it for the sake of the country; it is the only course." A second time within eighteen months in the face of a cholera attack, the aged statesman rallied and recovered, passed the death's door by his wonderful vitality.

At Philadelphia, in September of this year, at the convention of Southern loyalists, Sumner was again elected President. In September—avail the grand occasion—



Union's sake as against secession. Northern patrons left these delegates to their own concerted expression, though speeches were made to stimulate their action by General Butler, who had lately emerged from the retirement at Lowell to which Grant sent him, to run for the next House as a full pledged Republican in a Massachusetts district; also by Anna Dickinson, eloquent of her sex, and others. Willingly enough, these loyalists helped engender a distrust of converted rebels of their own section; but all the arts of outside oratory and persuasion were futile to commit them to negro suffrage, and in that respect the convention proved a disappointment. Northern soldier conventions were likewise held, the same month, for political effect: one for full fraternity at Cleveland, which was a failure, and the other at Pittsburgh, clamorously opposed to the President's policy, over which Governor Cox presided.

The result of all this national excitement for a Northern State and local effect was not doubtful. As between Executive and Congress, with the lines so sharply drawn—public sentiment at the North, fanned into suspicion and alarm over what all this embrace of ex-secessionists might mean, and utterly disowning the President personally—the trend of the canvass was unmistakably in favor of Congress, with a harsher demeanor, if need be, towards ex-Confederates themselves, and an increasing favor towards experimenting with the ballot on the Southern negro's behalf.

With angry and combative passions aroused as they never should have been, little inquiry was made as to what terms if any, Congress meant as its ultimatum for Southern readmission. The proposed XIVth Amendment was remitted to the background, as though by common consent, and the disposition of the Congressional majority, if successful at the polls, to impose other terms for keeping the South's natural leaders out of influence, and delaying Southern readmission, became more and more apparent as the Northern elections developed results. Some eloquent extremists contended that for those who had once

drawn sword against the Union all penalty short of hanging was clemency. Thaddeus Stevens, in a speech made in his district in September, announced plainly that he intended, the next winter, to propose a bill for overthrowing all the existing State governments at the South which had been established under this President's auspices, and setting up new ones, such as Congress might approve, with as he hoped, negro suffrage and negro rights fundamental.¹

Some influential States voted in October; a few still earlier; and by November, the overwhelming tide of Northern opinion was made manifest,—to hold firmly to the moral results of the Civil War, regardless of consequences, and postpone sectional fraternity to further discipline. Not only was the action thus far of this present Congress sustained at the polls as against the President, but an ample two-thirds in both Houses of the next Congress was also assured for opposing him and his policy. The radicals of the Republican party won and conservatives were exhorted to coalesce with them. The prospect was dark and discouraging for all the preachers of fraternal harmony and reconciliation of the sections.²

Our Northern Democracy had failed to give support to the administration cause, chiefly because convinced that Johnson and his cabinet had meant not to apostatize, but rather to combine, if they could, all the conservative

¹ New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866.

² V. Rhodes, 625.

"False issues have prevailed," observes Welles, by way of comment. "Passion, prejudice, hate of the South, the whole South. Equal political rights among the States are scouted: toleration to the people of the South denied." The President is denounced as a traitor; the Constitution and all real political questions are ignored. Diary, Nov. 17, 1866. The Secretary here shows his own peculiar animus, by regretting that the Philadelphia convention had not taken positive ground against the XIVth Amendment by way of a conditional readmission. This he had wished, but Seward, Randall and the other managers, preferred such an issue avoided. *Ib.*



strength of Union-Republicans for a reconciliation which would obliterate past party lines. Hence Northern Democrats and "Copperheads" strove to revive their old national alliance of 1864, believing, many^{1865-1866.} of them, that the Republicans had committed suicide. New York leaders of that party had labored in vain to have Seward turned out of the cabinet and the government patronage bestowed on their own behalf. In November, 1865, Preston King, collector of the port of New York, died suddenly; but after an interval of many months the successor chosen for that chief custom house and stronghold of party dispensation was one whose personal integrity as a financier was regarded, and not his political standing.

Prominent in such efforts with the President were the Blairs, strenuous but intriguing politicians and potent in the border States. The senior Blair, Jackson's former editor and personal friend, who, like Johnson, was an old-fashioned Democrat by antecedents, now lived not far away, while the home of his son Montgomery, Lincoln's former Postmaster-General, was nearly opposite the White House. Though prominent in organizing the Republican party originally, they had lately turned against it. Both father and son attended Johnson's quiet inauguration, and each strove thenceforth to gain influence with him. During his first two years of office, as Johnson's manuscripts show, they made urgent and mischievous effort to embroil him with his Republican supporters,¹ Montgomery Blair in particular, who was incessant with written advice, and who probably held many oral interviews besides. From one quarter or another came petitions to the President, in those months, to appoint Frank P. Blair, Jr., to the cabinet. And Montgomery Blair—now a leading practitioner in the Supreme Court—seconded insidious efforts from without to get Andrew Johnson to ally

¹ Johnson Ms. But counter advice reached the President to "keep the Blairs out of his confidence," and such advice seems to have been not unheeded. *Ib.*

personal favors. "My strenuous opposition is solely from the conviction that he, more than any other man, is responsible for the Civil War, and that he can do more to involve us in another by striving for a so-called Union party consolidated. . . . In making an effort to keep up a conservative Union, the Republican party, it is the avowed policy of its associates not to break with the party. . . . We are anxious to support you, and hence it is of great importance to unite the Republicans who are opposed to you and the masses of the Democrats, in order to form a Union." ²

Doubtless from a sense of honor and of loyalty to the party which had promoted him, Johnson refused all such overtures; and now that the Republicans had renounced and deserted him as a body, he was left without party support for the remainder of his term.

SECTION VI.

CONGRESS DOMINANT.

For Northern Democrats it was a lost opportunity in 1866 that, instead of boldly and openly opposing the President's policy for a speedy reconciliation with the South, as one might well have anticipated, they



gress of wisdom and moderation, they had now nominated men obnoxious in the war and not likely to win. Had they done otherwise, or had this angry strife between Congress and the Executive been assuaged in some way, the results at the polls might have been quite different, with something like divided honors from a generous and patriotic constituency. As Welles observed, the people of the North were not ready to place the government in the hands of the "Copperheads," or even of Northern Democrats who were cold and reserved during the war. "This hostility," he writes, "to those who sympathized with the rebels is natural. It is an honest feeling."¹

As for Congress, that body was jealous of its own rights in such a controversy as any legislature must be; nor could it have treated a Vice-President casually promoted, in these times, with the consideration due to one who, like the lamented Lincoln, had been chosen full President, and that upon a re-election which heartily approved his illustrious service to the Union cause already rendered.

President Johnson had greatly injured himself and his cause in this canvass by the bitter animosity he had shown against his fiercest opponents in or out of Congress. He should have allowed supporters of smoother tongue to expound his policy for him. But defeat at the polls sobered and steadied him, and he followed the advice which now reached him from friendly sources, not to try to stem the tide, but to yield, using silently for the country's advantage such opportunities as he might find later.² Hence his opening message to Congress, which reassembled, December 3, 1866, was unexpectedly calm, dignified and dispassionate. He still claimed courageously that his reconstruction plan was in principle the right one, but pugnacity he laid aside. Upon the XIVth Amendment he offered no suggestion.

While studying in the Library of Congress those Johnson manuscripts, which are mostly confined in date to his Presidential term, one is sadly impressed by the fickleness

¹ Diary, Sept. 27, 1866.

² Johnson Ms.

... in the fall of 1866
he had lost irretrievably his control
correspondents dropped off, and the variety
whose motives were disinterested ceased
of a policy for the vanquished, outside the
circle, were henceforth waited on; other plans
horizon, surrounded by their satellites. A
pitied or not this Tennessean's misfortune
he was brought to bay, most prudent aspirants
regardful of their own future, took heed that
their handwriting should not get into the
portfolio, to be later produced, perchance,
in evidence. The wave of Executive popularity
subsided, and with it the freight of miscellaneous
business, hitherto so huge. But two sorts of
the common people reached this President
through the mails—one, brutal and bully
anonymous blackguard, who signed himself
(perhaps) "A Union Soldier"; the other from
annuated village voter, who dreamed of Old
exhorted this later Andrew to defy Congress
confusion worse. Yet, now and then, came a
message of the better sort; and Johnson's
under the new storm of malignant abuse which
upon him like a wild deluge, touched the sympathy
citizens of high standing, in and out of party
appreciation of his better qualities.



I have already praised highly the XIVth Amendment, as a fair and reasonable condition of Southern reconstruction, were we to consider it as positively the Congressional supplement to those Executive terms of reunion, which leaders of the States lately in rebellion had accepted with gratitude and joy. But, as also stated, this new Amendment had not been put forward for Southern acceptance as a genuine condition precedent of readmission and forgiveness, nor indeed as a distinct condition at all.¹ Congress in its joint resolve had made use of the customary expression in tendering that new Amendment for adoption to all the States, and as though States excluded from representation were "States" with the rest; so that upon an acceptance by three-fourths of the legislatures in the whole Union our Constitution would become correspondingly changed. No pledge of readmission, no assurance that acceptance by any Southern State would entitle its delegates for Congress to their seats once more, went with it. In short, the two Houses at Washington appear to have been ominously silent, and purposely silent, upon conditions precedent or a new ultimatum for the ten Southern States still excluded. Radical leaders in Congress meant, all the while, to press, upon future opportunity, for terms still harder, while the moderate Republicans were disposed to equivocate or be silent, rather than insist upon an explicit tender of this new Amendment as a finality for reconciliation.

Such being the case, it was not strange if those ten Southern States hung back over promptly accepting that Amendment. I find nothing to show that the terms expressed therein were thought by Southern leaders, or by President Johnson himself and his cabinet, other than just and acceptable on their face. But the doubt came as

the publication of a letter to some friend, at this juncture, which should apologize for the tone of his impassioned utterances, while avowing his real sincerity of motive. Such advice might have been well worth following; but Johnson had scarcely an appropriate friend and correspondent for such a purpose.

¹ *Supra*, p. 77.

Chief to deal with; and that the Executive had power to pardon, and not Congress, was to prescribe the terms and conditions in the insurrection for a practical return to State save only for the legislative right to admit representatives. Such a doctrine proved, as it was too narrow to fit the case; yet strict construction to it honestly, since the Supreme Judiciary expressed itself on the subject.¹

The ground taken in the resolution of the Union of August at Philadelphia² covered the conservative or administrative opposition to the Amendment. No objection was made there to its language, and indeed the convention pledged itself to nearly all that Amendment had proposed. Its platform claimed that all State Legislatures were to be alike left free, North or South, in their decision whether or not to accept. Under such a construction with their self-respect already wounded by various intimations that other terms would, whether pressed to humiliate them further, it is not surprising that most Southern leaders were at this time for the ratification of that Amendment, or even for its rejection since even a first rejection would not preclude a later one. What example would the North set in this regard? Only five Northern legislatures had then rejected the Amendment.



excluded States—notably Governor Brown of Georgia—had given the pertinent advice to “agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way with him.” Tennessee had ratified just before her readmission, as I have stated. But the general sentiment at the South was for standing out; and the more so because political proscription under that Amendment was hard to bear. Hence the legislatures of several excluded States rejected before January, 1867, one after another, and most of them by a vote almost unanimous. During that January, Virginia, as well as Kentucky, rejected, while seven Northern States, together with Missouri and West Virginia, accepted. February opened with the success of the XIVth Amendment very doubtful.¹

These excluded States as well as the border States which sustained them, acted seemingly of their own volition and impulse, and without either asking or receiving inspiration from the President or administration at Washington. Americans with the stamp of statesmen have never been wanting in spirit when a manly submission on terms once arranged is spurned by an adversary. With the campaign pronouncements of such as Thaddeus Stevens still ringing in their ears, Southerners might well have asked what good a hasty acquiescence in the XIVth Amendment was likely to do them.²

¹ See Proclamation July 28, 1868, with its schedule of States accepting or rejecting the Amendment. This names only Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina as actually rejecting during 1866. It would appear, from VI. Rhodes, 7, that the list was a larger one.

² Mr. Rhodes blames President Johnson as actively influencing rejection in these Southern States. VI. Rhodes, 7, 8. The only two instances he cites (Alabama and Virginia), do not, I think, bear him out. An Ex-Governor of Alabama telegraphed to the President, January 17, 1867, as to whether he thought the legislature (which had refused to ratify) should “reconsider” and adopt. Johnson’s telegraphic response, to the effect that he did not think it worth while, simply referred to a reconsideration as matters then stood with Congress. Concerning Virginia the evidence is admitted to be

"grand old man," with his genius and audacity
 of principle, ruled with a rod of iron, the
 1866, Dec.- party now yielding to him. It was
 1867, March. the outset that while fair-minded
 in both branches—men like Sherman and Garfield
 —argued that should an excluded State add
 the XIVth Amendment it ought at once to be
 others, usually moderate, like Fessenden, Erwin
 Blaine, disinclined to treat that Amendment a
 conditions, while Sumner and Stevens derided.

To tie up this odious President's hands is
 to impeach him as an obstructive and eject him

the merest hearsay, and two surviving Virginians of
 Confederates, lately assured me (1912) that Virginia
 her own responsibility.

The Johnson Ms. indicates non-consultation, and, as
 illustration in Washington, a fair neutrality. So, too,
 Diary, *passim*. "The Radicals say the people have
 constitutional questions and indorsed the changes, when
 were never brought out." Diary, Nov. 17, 1866. And
 that vengeance on the whole South indiscriminately
 still the purpose of such leaders. *Ib.* That purpose be
 manifested as soon as Congress re-assembled in Dec.
 Yet the President and most of his advisers still stood on
 Philadelphia platform, though Welles for himself strong
 non-ratification. By the last of January, as Welles showed
 ident, believing the XIVth Amendment



was also seriously discussed when the Republican members came together. Impeachment had been already broached during the exciting canvass of 1866. General Butler, as a converted party Republican, pressed eagerly for such a high-handed course, while making campaign speeches in New York and Ohio.¹ Wendell Phillips, too, had used his incendiary eloquence to the same effect; proposing besides, that this President should be "sequestered from office" while the impeachment trial went on²,—an idea which the House, upon reflection, discountenanced. As the law then stood, Johnson's successor, were he impeached and removed, would be the President *pro tem.* of the Senate; and to that significant post Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, a stalwart Senator of plain manners, was promoted. All signs betokened violent and vindictive measures before this short session ended.

The two Houses opened fire in December by making uncivil and annoying calls upon the various Executive departments for information upon one subject or another.³ Extremists were "very violent, coarse and abusive" of the President in caucus and open debate; and Sumner in the Senate (whom the more moderate Fessenden styled "a scholastic pedant") introduced resolutions which proposed reducing at once the excluded Southern States to territories.

A wave of sentiment now swept over the North, for bestowing the boon of universal suffrage, regardless of race and color, without further delay. Abstractly considered, this was a noble idea; but disfranchisement largely of white ex-rebels at the same time scarcely con-

¹ See Johnson Ms. The President took cognizance of such assaults upon him and procured minutes of Butler's vulnerable war record from the files of the War Department.

² Newspapers of the day.

³ Diary, December 7, 1866. Welles, with captious vigilance, noted that while it was resolved that the Secretary of the Navy "be directed" to furnish, etc., Secretary Stanton was more courteously "requested" to do so.

political conversion at
constituencies still refused all ballot
Sumner's own State of Massachusetts
writing requirement for the suffrage
without racial discrimination, had appl
to this day; and yet Sumner himself was
negroes of the disordered South an u
at once where that race, embracing a 1
tion of the inhabitants than in any Ne
was grossly illiterate.

As an experimental beginning, the tv
in December, 1866, an act establishing
in the District of Columbia, which ma
tions, nevertheless, of persons who had
comfort to the rebels." Negroes were
into Washington city in large numbers fr
States, as to a Mecca of sympathetic b
this statute promised them a large sl
influence in our capital city. Presiden
approval of all his present cabinet ad
Stanton,¹ sent back the bill with a sensib
but both Houses promptly passed it ov
and it became a law.² That experiment, v
their own eyes, proved its unwisdom in a

¹ Diary, January 4, 1867. General Grant, who
cabinet conference. strongly



nation's representatives; and a later Congress, ruled by the same Republican party, swept out universal suffrage, and indeed all local suffrage whatsoever, from this national reservation of the people.

With better show for a practical demonstration, universal suffrage for all the territories of the Union passed Congress likewise in January, and this bill the President suffered to become a law without his signature.¹ Another act of January (which Johnson approved) provided that the next Congress, and all succeeding ones, should first assemble on the 4th of March instead of in December.²

Johnson's opposition to the District of Columbia bill so angered the radicals of the House, that on motion of James M. Ashley of Ohio, an inquiry was instituted with a view to impeach the President forthwith. A committee of the House probed into Johnson's dealings, private and public, with other persons, summoned cabinet officers, investigated the President's correspondence, his bank accounts, his personal and social relations, his private transactions; but nothing at all could be found dishonorable or traitorous to report, save for his late defamatory harangues against Congress which had been free and open; and for that offence, a censure would have seemed sufficient. A vile slander which had circulated, to the effect that Johnson was accessory to President Lincoln's assassination, received its quietus.

After differences and doubts the two branches of Congress settled finally, this winter, upon a definite scheme for taking the whole reconstruction problem into its own hands, and undoing whatever the President had accomplished towards a speedy reunion, while at the same time subjecting him personally to its closer control. One measure proposed overturning altogether the provisional governments which now existed in the ten excluded States; while the other sought to subject all Executive power to remove officers of the government—those of the cabinet

¹ Act January 24, 1867.

² Act January 22, 1867.

...late in February, Reconstruction act, alleging that no
ments nor adequate protection for life
existed in the ten "rebel States" descri
in five military districts, to which
should be assigned for enforcing peace
loyal and republican State governments
established." Conditions were prescribed
such States should be deemed entitled
representation in Congress, when, by
delegates, regardless of race or color (dis
excepted), a State constitution accepted
was framed and adopted; and when,
pending XIVth Amendment was duly rat
Tenure of Office act limited the power of
all removals from civil offices, and their
successors. Such incumbents could not be
absolutely, but he might suspend at discretion
temporary appointment, subject to the approval
of the convening Senate. Fines and
were threatened for any Executive disobedience.

The main purpose of the Military Reconstruction
was to pull down the ten State governments
existing at the South, for the purpose of
on the basis of full and immediate negro
in the suffrage; of the Tenure of Office act
possible, a President who was "incompetent

the third department of our government, the Judiciary, might fairly pass upon, should opportunity arise for making a test case.

Johnson well understood the humiliation these two measures meant for himself and his policy, and he did not hesitate, after receiving them together, to return each, with his objections, to the House in which it had originated. As to both bills his cabinet, except for Stanton, emphatically sustained him; and Stanton himself, to his own manifest relief, concurred with his colleagues and the President in returning the Tenure of Office act. Johnson thereupon scored a point, or thought he had done so, by requesting his vehement Secretary of War to draw up the veto message; and in collaboration with Seward, Stanton did so.¹

Read in the light of to-day, each veto message sent to Congress by the President, March 2nd, in returning these two bills, appears sound and strong in argument; but Congress, in utter contempt of his objections, passed both bills over the veto on the same day that they were returned, gaining the needful two-thirds in each branch. Two days later, on the 4th day of March, the short session and this thirty-ninth Congress came to an end; and for the first time in our annals, a new Congress met and organized at the capitol in its stead.

The Military Reconstruction act, as passed, was in somewhat milder form than the bill originally introduced early by Thaddeus Stevens in the House in pursuance of his campaign utterances. In vain did moderates of his party plead that the excluded States should have more time given them to put their record right on the XIVth Amendment. In vain, too, would Bingham and Blaine have modified the measure, in the interests of a thorough philanthropy, by coupling universal suffrage for the blacks with universal political amnesty for the whites, our erring brethren. Such an amendment Stevens treated with sarcasm and contempt. "I have no respect," he exclaimed, "for the XIVth Amendment," nor, as he added,

¹ Diary, February 26, 1867.

*Stanton forbade to write it - said by Stanton -
The veto of the Military Reconstruction - but was written by
J. S. Gilchrist - Danbury. Amer. Hist. Rec. Apr. 1867.*

the House non-concurring, a committee of considered and reported, so that the bill, with amendments agreed upon, passed both Houses on February, 1867.¹

Nebraska was admitted as a new State a session, and another star added to the azure Both Colorado and Nebraska had been des admission at the present time; but the President to each on the ground that there was insufficiency, the former bill was lost, while the latter law.² Nebraska's population, under the census of close to 123,000; and to this day, with but one Omaha, it has been mainly a State of sturdy and white farmers, devoted to raising their and

Since the admission of Kansas in early 1861 long and portentous struggle for supremacy between and slave labor which provoked our Civil War been but little occasion for erecting new State territorial soil. The maintenance of an equilibrium between slave and free representation be an incentive. West Virginia had been admitted as a military necessity, in her rupture with the Union. By October, 1864, and just in season to the Presidential election of that year, Nevada to the list; prematurely, as it turned out, for



co-equality in numbers or Congressional dignity; for even by 1870 its inhabitants, little more by the count than one-third of those in Nebraska, were rude, migratory, scattered in mining camps, with pickaxe and washbowl, to scar the soil for buried gold and silver. Its promised wealth was not in sustenance but mineral ore, and its labor varied from frenzied luck to frenzied disappointment. Republican politics in the Presidential game, the motive that had already operated on Nevada's behalf, was next to carry Colorado's admission in 1876; and all three States, Nevada, Colorado and Nebraska, proved faithful throughout to the Republican party and its candidates while this reconstruction era lasted.

Highly impressive, during our Civil War, was the fact that North and South, Union and Confederacy, fought out their fight in the region essentially that lay between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, with the line of the Ohio River for a northern boundmark to the seat of war in the Mississippi valley, and with States southwestward of the Mississippi but slightly penetrated. ¹⁸⁶¹⁻^{1865.} Kansas on the north and Texas on the south, and an Indian reservation of territory between, made our remotest western frontier for all practical operations by the two armies. Yet, on the distant coast of the Pacific Ocean and westward of the Rocky Mountains, lay a cluster of important States and territories widely separated from that part of the Union which struggled and panted for existence, by a vast wilderness, thinly populated, and traversed with slow and painful difficulty. Here California and Oregon on the Pacific, States of great resource in soil and climate, gave tone to the surrounding sentiment, and, while contributing their quota of men and means for the conflict waged in battlefields thousands of miles away, felt nothing of the convulsive shock which shook the eastward side of this Union for four years to its centre. To a considerable degree those two States were left necessarily to their own chosen course of action.

Had that Pacific slope been strong in its own resources

mon church settlement, cherished independence, but that independence would have been tempted at all, and hostile to our closest one horizon or another, desiring in its remotest to be let alone. So far as concern political parties in States such as Oregon and Nevada, the only opposition developed was that of a breezy Democracy, Union in thought and expression of "Copperheadism" or a deferential pro-slavery sentiment, such as long commercial intercourse and alliance had bred in Oregon on the North Atlantic coast. Whatever independence or neutrality ambitious spirit indulged in those early months after Fort Sumter there was no organized revolt; and with the fervid Thomas Starr King, a San Francisco man from New England, to inspire loyalty, the coast spontaneously upheld the government with an emphasis and unanimity that swept before it, keeping our unified Republic sure in pronouncement, the Pacific quarter of the Union proved loyal to the close. All these States voted for Lincoln against McClellan in the campaign of 1864. Yet during the whole period of 1861-1865, Lincoln's administration



as President Johnson was beginning the work of Southern reconstruction without a Congress at hand to check or criticise, a party of influential journalists, with the genial Speaker of the House, Schuyler Colfax, made a ^{1865.} long overland journey to traverse this region, hold intercourse with its citizens and learn in close conference their actual needs and political conditions, in the hope of inducing Congressional aid. Seemingly an unofficial trip, privately paid for, it was arranged with President Lincoln's express approval and bore from him a posthumous message. No party of such public distinction had ever before paid a visit to this remote region of the Union, and they received signal honors wherever they went. At this time the Union Pacific railroad, with some land grants and a charter from Congress, made its western terminus at Atchison, Kansas, while scarce sixty miles at the California end had been built. Hence two thousand miles of staging in Concord coaches intervened, through a lonely and desolate country, traversed by groups of white-canvassed wagons drawn by mules or oxen, amid varying scenes. Vast prairies were crossed with waving green grass, or sand dunes of sage brush; and then the rich slopes and rough valleys of the Rocky range, picturesque with cascades and mountain peaks; far beyond which appeared well-tilled Mormon farms and Utah's marvellous Salt Lake. Denver and Salt Lake City showed eager hospitalities in turn, and, though centering their visit chiefly at San Francisco, the Colfax party made a northward excursion to Oregon. From the eastern terminus of the California-Pacific railroad there was a sail of one hundred and fifty miles by steamboat down the Sacramento River, before San Francisco and the Pacific Ocean were really reached. Taking homeward a less tedious route, the travellers returned to New York by way of the Panama Railroad across the Isthmus, voyaging in ocean steamers on either side.¹

¹ Across the Continent, by Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield Republican, gives a graphic and interesting account of this whole Pacific tour. Bowles was one of the journalists in the party.

problems our citizens of the Pacific coast were considering for themselves, all national solution, thus far, held in abeyance. (1) The Immigration from Asia, which threatened new racial aside from those negro and Indian elements first century of American independence pressed already no fewer than sixty to eighty thousand were scattered over these Pacific States and numbering from one-eighth to one-sixth of the population. They washed clothes, they delved in the earth, they used shovel and pickaxe for railway-work, they served as menial servants; and with plodding industry and patience, quick to copy and to do as they were bidden, they proved laborers so admirable, and without any desire for recompense, as to excite strong jealousy among the white wage-earners wherever they came in. They came and went from China, hoping their corpses buried after death in their own country, and seemingly without definite idea of remaining in America, or of becoming, with their chil-



and an acquiescing disposition which was assumed by these solicitous entertainers.¹

(3) As to mining enterprises, Lincoln's message had been—and even while far-off Alaska did not belong to us—that “the United States held the treasury of the world.” But the Colfax party learned to warn eastern investors against all Pacific speculations founded upon imperfect processes and unscientific investigation. To be sure, gold and silver ore were in abundance hereabouts, but precious metals do not lie on the surface of the earth, nor are they to be successfully exploited at random. Fraud, deception, gambling ventures, all should be carefully guarded against by those whose money was sought by promoters.²

(4) But as the chief and most earnest lesson of the hour, all energies of our Eastern capitalists needed to be united in completing, as soon as possible, the proposed railway line which should span this whole continent, and bring the homogeneous population of our two great coasts into full social and commercial harmony. “When will the Union Pacific be built?” was the anxious inquiry of fellow-citizens in California and Oregon on every hand; heart-sick as were so many of them for a closer ligature with the rest of the Union. Though Holliday's stages were well run and equipped, though the Wells-Fargo Express Company assured safe transportation for valuable matter, vying with our Post-office establishment as letter carriers, and though steamship lines to the Isthmus had grown and improved, this whole Pacific coast sorely needed the steam locomotive and the iron track.³ To this immediate end the Colfax party accomplished something on its return home, and acts were passed by the present Congress which stimulated Wall Street interest and revived hopes which had been faltering, that the trans-continental railroad would soon be finished. To this topic, in national and political aspects, we shall return.

One great metallic bond of another kind for uniting

¹ Across the Continent, *passim*.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

es far apart in intelligent intercourse was completed during the summer of 1866; and here it was by water instead of land, and with a compact cord of wires and gutta percha instead of iron track. The successful laying of the Atlantic cable for practical operation, bringing the old daily communion with the new, was at that time led by its chief promoter, Cyrus W. Field, our citizen, aided this time by British capital, in a which had begun as altogether an American enterprise the discouraging failure of 1858,¹ came the of our Civil War, and it was not until peace ended that Field resumed his experiment, with an Englishman, Thomas Brassey, to provide further under British auspices. In July, 1865, the Great Britain left Ireland for Newfoundland, its great coil of cable unwinding, but in mid-ocean the cable parted to the bottom. Baffled, but not beaten, the enterprise raised new sums of money by another summer, and, though fogs and storm impeded progress,



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newspaper one at his breakfast table no longer perused the intermittent columns of "ten" or "fifteen days later from Europe," as a budget of news, compiled by the drudgery of instalment, but learned what had happened abroad the day before. Fact and rumor were to mingle henceforth more and more in the world's intelligence, and the foreign scarcely less than the domestic pulse could be held in hand for mutual security and convenience, the world over. That electric spark, once set darting to and fro, fathoms deep in the Atlantic, has never since rested, and the accomplishment here of our great cable enterprise assured still wider submarine achievements in the years to come.¹

SECTION VII.

THE IMPEACHMENT FAILURE.

Our 40th Congress holds a unique record in American history: first, as the only Congress which ever held short sessions at close intervals, so as to watch and check a President; and, next, as the only Congress which ever undertook a President's impeachment. It met for organization and business, under the new act, which set the 4th of March as the date henceforth—an experiment, I may observe, that was abandoned by 1873.² This Congress met March 4, 1867, organized, and then adjourned March 30; it reassembled July 3, and adjourned July 20; it reassembled again November 21, and ended December 2, by which latter date the regular business session commenced. Schuyler Colfax, with smiles³ and affable manners, was for the third time chosen Speaker of

¹ C. W. Field's Narrative (1866) in 9 Halsey's Great Epochs, 70.

² *Supra*, p. 89. In official description, all sessions prior to December 2, 1867, are combined as the first session; the long and regular session for that date being styled the second; and the third and final one beginning December 7, 1868. U. S. Stats. at Large, 1867-1869.

³ "With his heartless, everlasting smile," writes Welles censoriously. Many of that day called him "Smiler Colfax."

while in the Senate bluff "Ben " Wade renewed
tion of President *pro tem.*, which was soon to
a long shadow.

is now the official designated by law to take the
chair, should Andrew Johnson be at any time
and removed. A hindrance and irritant to the
the majority in these two Houses, as all ad-
t unpopular President learned that, although
Committee of the past Congress had failed,
searching, to find any impeachable offence to
idea of removing him was still under discussion
ion. To one of his cabinet who warned him of
n broke out passionately: "I will do nothing to
achment if there is any wish to press it. I am
ring allusions to impeachment. God Almighty
ll not turn aside from my public duties to
ese contemptible assaults which are got up to
he administration." ¹

the capitol, during March, had wished an



The only legislation of consequence which passed Congress in its first subdivided session, strengthened and defined the military-government act of March 2, providing full machinery for its enforcement. By an amendment was prescribed a local registration of voters with local boards before whom all white delegates, besides swearing allegiance for the future, were to make oath that they had not been in active rebellion against the United States in the past,—an “iron clad oath,” in the parlance of the day.¹ Stanbery, the Attorney General, gave two rulings, purposing to make this legislation work more acceptably in the South where it applied; one was, that in registration, the oath taken by the white voter concluded his right to be registered, and could not be disputed by the board; the other, that military government was meant, after all, to be subordinate and ancillary to the civil government of the State and not superior or so as to supersede.² These two rulings, which Congress disapproved, led to a second supplementary act in the July session, which made declaratory provision to the contrary.³ And thus the new reconstruction scheme of Congress stood complete.

During the summer of 1867 three ominous decisions of the Supreme Court were rendered by a bare majority—five to four—/ all restrictive of despotic interference by Congress or the Executive, where normal State conditions had obtained. In the Milligan case the military arrest and trial of a civilian by Federal court martial, as though “a prisoner of war,” was held illegal in a State like Indiana, never within the seat of war at all, where the usual civil and criminal courts were constantly open. The other two decisions established that Congress had no right to exclude lawyers or clergymen, otherwise of good standing, from practising professionally their several callings, by imposing “ironclad” oaths or other special

¹ Act March 23, 1867, passed over the President's veto.

² VI. Rhodes, 60-64.

³ Act July 19, 1867, c. 30, passed over the President's veto.

* This decision was handed down Dec. 17, 1866.
Rhodes, II. p. 11. So to White, Johnson Turnbull, p. 28

lty or disloyalty during the late rebellion. y kept its intervention within reasonable en the State of Mississippi—and Georgia t by injunction to have the Executive enforcing the new military government r confines the Supreme Court refused to ny such mode.¹

e, however, the court seemed inclined to sident's views largely as against Congress, the two Houses made indignant remon- what they termed a "judicial usurpation." sent year the military arrest of a Southern le, threatened to bring at once before the in a test case after the natural course, the ssue of this whole legislative scheme of n Congress, taking alarm, passed an act ent's veto, in early 1868, which, by a deft off jurisdiction of the suit altogether, so ismissed the appeal. Hence, as an eminent once sat in this tribunal ² said later, Con-



summer before; and the President in reply referred the questioner to the courts, which had all the machinery for a trial and did not make use of it. Jefferson Davis, when captured and confined at Fortress Monroe, in 1865, was placed in a gloomy room and manacled. At such indignities the prisoner protested, and President Johnson ordered the rigors relaxed. The irons were struck off, he was moved to pleasanter quarters in this stronghold of confinement and his health was better cared for.¹ Secretary McCulloch, sent upon a special visit of inspection in October of that year found the famous captive walking for exercise on the ramparts under a guard. Conversing with him freely and at length he found that Davis had now no complaint to make of his treatment, further than the delay of his trial, which he deemed a hardship.²

Government left its prisoner thus for two years, uncertain what to do with him. The idea of a summary court martial, at first projected, was abandoned; while as for trial by a jury in the usual courts, it became clear that Davis could not be convicted. A jury would have to be drawn and the trial held somewhere in the region of the insurrection, where none were unprejudiced; besides which, after all, he was the chosen leader and chief, rather than head conspirator, in an open Southern movement, whose public and political character could not be ignored under any legal definition of "treason." Hence, while formally indicted for high treason by a Virginia grand jury, the culprit was in May, 1867, brought by a writ of *habeas corpus* before a Federal judge and admitted ^{1867.} May to bail for \$100,000, Horace Greeley volunteering to be one of the bondsmen. Once set free by these proceedings, Davis remained at liberty for the rest of his long life, which lasted until the age of eighty-one. Included in Johnson's final amnesty and pardon of Christmas, 1868,

¹ "He was the head devil among the traitors," said President Johnson to McCulloch, "and he ought to be hung; but he should have a fair trial and not be brutally treated while a prisoner." *Men and Measures*, 410.

² *Ib.*, 410, 411.

against him was dropped and a *nol pros* entered at that time the whole Union, disposed to be lenient where criminal penalties alone were conducive to oblivion its willing sanction.¹

The Military Reconstruction act with its amendments and the Reconstruction scheme of 1867—, Mr. Rhodes observes: "so unjust in its policy, so direful in its results, that it has never been passed the American Congress since the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854."² In this opinion I concur. It was not so much the military domination: if troops had been kept at the South, ever since the rebellion was crushed, and this with the approval of the people themselves, for aiding to protect lives and property and to restore social order and confidence. Most of the Federal soldiery detailed under this legislation, and the commanding officers, behaved admirably still. But the chief mischief consisted in a forcible uprooting of State governments already advanced towards natural conditions of self-rule, and in replanting them on a new political



erners, such as the President, who best understood conditions in their own section, had been disposed to favor.¹

The results were not hard to seek. This estray of emancipation was turned from honest and steady industry, under educating influences, to a childish gamble in politics, while the intelligent citizen of the superior race who had hitherto led on his native soil all his life and whose stake in civil order and recuperation was most vital, found himself disqualified to vote, and the fraternal hand spurned which he had lately stretched across the bloody chasm, led to suppose that bygones would be bygones. Instead of the Northern capital and enterprise which might have been welcome, Northern adventurers without means came flocking in, many of whom took advantage of the situation to manage this ignorant vote so as to secure for themselves the chief political prizes, leaving the lesser ones to their docile allies.² The public patronage here, with the power to tax and procure loans, was sufficient to provide a common corruption fund.

Such a travesty on self-government could not last long in a Union of intelligence like ours; but while it lasted, they who lived under its incubus, struggled as with some hideous nightmare. It was like trying to sail the Ship of State keel uppermost. Northern white immigration to these States, even such of it as was honorable, came under false colors; fraternal and unsectional feeling disappeared; the negro was put back twenty years or more in achieving his own co-operative good; while as for the Republican party, instead of absorbing the whole reunited people into its own loyal fold—thereby presaging new combinations in national politics after an era of good feeling—, it confined the old party alignment to the North, as hitherto, forcing Southern self-respecting voters into a re-alliance with Northern Democrats, portentous in its new aspects. Scarce a State in the Sunny South, thus solidified, in opposition

¹ *Supra*, p. 36.

² A "terrible inert mass of domesticated barbarism." C. F. Adams, Jr., cited VI. Rhodes, 82.

as Republicanism ever carried with the freely
of its own recognized electors, after military
removed.

ern States, such as Alabama, Florida, Missis-
ith Carolina, had passed vagrancy and ap-
eemingly harsh and cruel to the liberated race.
on Northern writers have cited for justifying
Reconstruction acts.¹ A milder remedy, in
ht have been devised for such an evil, than
agrants and apprentices into power to rule
d attempted discipline. In any self-governed
eeks to re-model its institutions when racial
olished, laws are likely to be framed which
ed of a State or country long relieved of such
r always free, might think oppressive; since
oms change but slowly and freedom's disci-
e gradual. It was so with codes of New
w York and New Jersey, during our post-
y period from 1783 to 1800.



take a permanent part in that condition of universal freedom which they had now accepted in entire good faith, or even good will; yet, surely, the white leaders of those several States bore fittest the responsibility of ushering in the new and more humane era in their midst. Besides the respective State courts, those of Union and Federal jurisdiction were already in full operation.

President Johnson himself, as Mr. Rhodes frankly concedes, wished earnestly that the negroes should be well treated. This his despatches to Southern governors made evident; and the Civil Rights and Freedman's Bureau statutes, passed over his veto, he had well and faithfully enforced.¹ His cabinet officers, too, were all loyal to the Union, tried and true, and all but one of them² had been party Republicans during the war.³

During the summer recess of Congress President Johnson, accompanied by some of his suite, made two brief excursions in June. One was to North Carolina, where greetings were unceremonious; the other to Massachusetts, to officiate in laying the corner-stone of a new Masonic temple in Boston. All went well on each occasion; there was little speech making, and no unseemly disturbance. In Boston, a crowd which lined the sidewalks, more out of curiosity than accord, beheld for the only time their much-abused President, riding in procession in an open carriage and bowing deprecatingly from side to side—a man of sturdy frame and middle size, with profuse black hair inclined to curl up underneath, a smooth face, swarthy complexion and sparkling black eyes—, while the chief Masonic dignitary of the day sat by his side, smiling complacently. Both Massachusetts Senators were absent from the ovation; but the governor of the State, though hostile in politics, tendered the official courtesies with urbane propriety, out of respect for the office; while municipal honors were added

¹ VI. Rhodes, 27.

² Stanbery, the Attorney General.

³ VI. Rhodes, 27.

At a banquet given in the evening, Johnson spoke in brief and appropriate. He had learned the taste of Northern auditors since his the year before.¹

For the new legislation Congress made inquiry in February, 1867, whether the Civil War had failed in any respect of enforcement. He referred that question to the several departments of whom reported to him with promptness. He was affected strangely; producing in cabinet considerable delay, a scandalous report made up of matter, scrappy, ill-vouched for and obtained. He intended to give a one-sided and unfavorable view of the social conditions existing at the time. He was against sending any such report to the President. Randall, the Postmaster General, suggested that the President might forward it with his own knowledge concerning the facts, Stanton was at that idea. In the course of a further discussion the Secretary admitted that some members



hesitancy and indecision in keeping longer among confidential advisers this spy and betrayer.¹ Congress had not yet passed its Tenure of Office act, though it soon would do so, and meanwhile all government practice favored a President's control of his own cabinet. Stanton, if asked to resign, would most probably have reported at once to his friends in Congress, dallying with a correspondence while passage of the bill was hastened. But such a course on his part would have justified an immediate removal; besides which, any measure passed by Congress must have awaited the President's action or non-action before it could become a law. But Johnson, if erring here, erred because the sequence of later results could not yet have been forecast; and being at the time, besides, under a fierce inquisition by men in Congress who longed for occasion to impeach him, his usual patient and forbearing disposition was fortified likely enough by a knowledge that it would be imprudent, just now, to provoke a new issue.

In the effort to get acceptable commanders under the military reconstruction of Congress, Johnson deferred so greatly to the Secretary of War as to make other and more faithful members of the cabinet feel that they were slighted.² Yet all the while, as Stanton's self-confidence grew, the insolence of his bearing towards his chief became more noticeable. In a cabinet conference of June, where the Attorney General's views were presented, and all the other members acceded to the idea that the President could still exert a constitutional discretion, as Commander-in-Chief, Stanton maintained, boldly and bluntly, that Congress meant here to establish military governments at the South as supreme, to suit its own views against the President, and that it had power to do so.³

Congress adjourned in July, 1867, not to meet again

¹ Men and Measures, 391; Diary, Feb. 16, 1867.

² Diary, May 4, 1867.

³ *Ib.*, June, 1867; Johnson Ms.; Annual Cyclopedic, 1867.

ber, and the President took that opportunity
tions with his obnoxious Secretary to a close.
at the time much ill-feeling in Louisiana, with
motion at New Orleans; and General Sheridan,
l there, who made some civil removals, was
rashness and political favoritism.¹ The situa-
fairly for a military change and new military
t here the Secretary of War obstructed, and
was exasperating; so after deliberating upon
he President went to the fountain-head of
concluded that Stanton should be displaced.
g sought to conciliate and bring this Secretary
ze with himself and the rest of the cabinet.
y months," wrote Welles in June "the Presi-
mitted to humiliation from the War Depart-

on, who had mainly composed Johnson's veto
the Tenure of Office act, abhorring the idea of
President to retain a Cabinet officer unwill-
turned upon his own doctrine, to the astonish-
leagues who had heard him thus express him-



to the Senate when that body met again. Having taken his own initiative in this perilous issue, without seeking counsel from cabinet advisers, Johnson chose the latter and more prudent course. He suspended Stanton from office, August 12, and made General Grant Secretary of War *ad interim*.¹

Grant's selection was an excellent one for controlling the situation, since this chief hero of the Civil War was the most popular man in the Union and the most trusted. Grant had thus far, with great reticence, avoided political controversy and his instincts were conservative. It was well for the President to secure so influential an ally. Stanton, content with a protest, turned over the department papers and records to this *ad interim* Secretary, and the country, as well as Congress, accepted the situation with such tranquillity that the Senate postponed exercising its own statute function over the change until the regular session of December furnished full leisure to discuss the President's explanations.

The President was not slow, however, in requiring his Secretary *ad interim* to supersede General Sheridan as a department commander; the General Thomas of Chickamauga fame being at first designated as successor, whose health did not permit him to serve, and Hancock succeeding in his stead. Grant strongly objected to the change on his comrade Sheridan's behalf, but yielded compliance. With less reluctance, he replaced General Sickles in the Carolinas by Canby, also upon the President's order. From these two changes the public sustained no detriment.²

¹ VI. Rhodes, 65-68.

² Cf. VI. Rhodes, 69, 70, with Welles's Diary, *passim*, which upholds the President's action throughout.

General Grant, in a letter of August 1 (marked "Private"), had tried to dissuade the President from removing either Stanton or Sheridan. The latter he defended as his own friend. As to the Secretary of War, he argued that Stanton had the confidence of the country, that the President's purpose could not prevail in the end unless the Senate sustained him, and that the Tenure of Office act meant in effect to prevent Stanton from being removed at will. Johnson Ms.

While the conservative North, through the present turmoil between President and Congress, relied most of all upon its General-in-chief, as another Washington, to shape the situation becomingly, Grant's *ad interim* tenure, thenceforward smooth enough, involved him in ^{1868.} an unfortunate misunderstanding with the President at its close. The Senate majority, in its present mood, disapproved, as might have been expected, the suspension of its cabinet co-worker, and treated the President's reasons as unconvincing; whereupon, January 13, 1868, Stanton at once reappeared at the War Department to resume his official duties. Grant yielded up the keys immediately and vacated, notifying the President that he had done so, instead of stating such a purpose beforehand, as he should have done. A painful scene followed at a cabinet meeting, the last which Grant ever attended in presence of an official superior, and the only one from which he ever withdrew crestfallen, after receiving a dignified rebuke which colleagues must have felt that he deserved.¹

The President had in fact, meant to force Stanton into

President Johnson, August 17, issued a formal order to have Sheridan transferred to Missouri and Thomas detailed to New Orleans in his stead; at the same time giving his Secretary *ad interim* leave to make suggestions. Grant thereupon protested warmly, defending Sheridan's conduct and stating that Thomas did not wish to be substituted. To this the President, August 19, made a calm reply, stating forcibly the reasons for his present order and suggesting that, under the acts of Congress, he had the power of making military changes at discretion. Grant wrote another letter, August 26, but the President insisting that his order be carried out without further delay, Grant's letter was returned to him at his own request to withdraw it and Sheridan was transferred accordingly. Gen. Hancock, after taking command, suspended the wholesale civil changes and removals which Sheridan had ordered. No controversy seems to have arisen over the displacement of Sickles. Johnson Ms.

¹ See Diary, January 14, a record which Welles wrote out immediately after returning from the cabinet meeting, impressed with the importance of that dramatic incident. See also Johnson Ms.



court to test the legality of his reinstatement, in case the Senate took such action; and upon that understanding Grant had promised him to allow another *ad interim* appointment to be seasonably made, should he himself prefer to stand aside. His precipitate withdrawal from his post in Stanton's favor, under those circumstances, looked, therefore, like a purposed breach of faith and a collusion with Stanton to outwit the President's purpose. Probably, however, Grant meant nothing of the kind, but only acted carelessly, thinking that Stanton would resign after carrying his point; and in fact, he and General Sherman conferred at once as to who best might fill Stanton's expected vacancy. But Grant did not comprehend Stanton's wilful purpose. That Secretary repossessed himself of the old brick war building, as of some impregnable fortress whose guns might be trained upon the White House. Without brazenness enough on the one hand to confront his chief or attend cabinet meetings, and without attempting, on the other, to conciliate, he deemed himself thenceforth the accredited agent of Congress, kept in place to openly defy and hinder the Executive. In earlier episodes of politics Stanton had shown the same disregard of the proprieties of life and of those honorable feelings which lead a man to resign his post and withdraw, where self-respect forbids an obedient service. The justification set up for conduct so strange, on each occasion, has been an overwhelming sense of duty to the people, to his country; and of the measure of that justification, whether in 1861 or in 1868, posterity must judge. Barricading himself in his quarters, when he found Johnson disposed to try conclusions once more,—there to remain day and night, for meals and lodging,—and compelling military officers to report and the department mails to be turned over to him at all times, he availed himself to the utmost of those nine points of the law which possession is said to confer. That an administrative climax so intolerable, so anomalous, could be long maintained, is enough to condemn the Tenure of Office act for all time, as subversive of lawful authority in the Executive branch of

Yet when in straits, Stanton's radical Congress urged him to "stick"; and hence the "Stick Stanton," now widely bestowed upon him in applause, by others in derision.

In mind by this unforeseen imbroglio, and moreover, by statements appearing in the press and broken faith with the President, General Sherman addressed to the President an open letter of which the latter responded, asserting that the President promised to hold on or else vacate in season for his return to be opposed; and, in the further course which followed, Johnson with a vigorous defence of his charge by annexing the statements of his ministers, all present at the January meeting, admitted that Grant had actually admitted as much.¹ The effect of this controversy, however, was a lasting disadvantage of the injured party; for the public were in a mood to believe nothing that might be said in favour of Grant, but anything against Grant's policy was necessary. Grant did not, in waiving or conceding



against failure, he played the new game with astute party leaders in Congress, quite as obstinate as himself and far more resourceful, with better spirit than discretion. He would have liked General Sherman to bear the brunt of his new experiment; but that officer's intimacy with Grant precluding him, he fixed upon Sherman's father-in-law, Thomas Ewing, as permanent Secretary, with Adjutant General Thomas for an *ad interim*. Neither selection was a wise one. Ewing, though a frequent and a sound confidential adviser, was too old, too long retired from active politics, to be thought more than an honorary incumbent of the War Department, even in the remote contingency that the Senate would confirm him. And as for Thomas, though he had made a good Adjutant General, in years past, for promulgating Stanton's own orders, he was by no means a person to inspire his superior with awe or to get the better of him in either a coaxing or a browbeating match.¹

When Thomas, February 21, brought into Stanton's rooms, in the building they occupied together, two letters from the President, appointing him *ad interim* and ordering full possession to be surrendered, it was natural that the Secretary, upon resolving to disobey, should order him back to his own office. The Adjutant General was arrested on the 22d, at Stanton's instigation, on a charge of violating the Tenure of Office act, and gave bail; but when the President accepted that opportunity for a test in the courts, such as he had all along desired, Stanton's quick-witted friends avoided such an outcome by dropping the prosecution.²

Meanwhile Congress took quickly its own action to meet the crisis. The Judiciary Committee of the House,

¹ See Diary, February 21, 1868. The President informed his cabinet after the regular business was over, that he had that morning removed Stanton, having perhaps delayed the step too long. Welles makes written comment that the President is too late and has tried to do too much at once.

² "After various twistings and turnings." Diary, Feb. 26, 1868.

the impeachment investigation from the press, had kept that subject in sight, and the was ready to pass a resolve whenever new could justify. The Thomas incident was decided Monday, February 24, the House adopted a r impeaching the President by a large major-
ouncement was made the next day at the bar e. The President had already sent to that me of Thomas Ewing as Secretary of War, mination was never acted on. The Senate try without delay the charges which the ntly framed. On the 5th of March the court ent first met, the Chief Justice presiding, as ion directs in such a case.¹ But the Senate, ts own political ends, was both judge and jury. whole trial, as Henderson, then a Senator, has observed in the retrospect, was not a judicial the culmination of a struggle for political For this Executive might be checked in his s to office or his removals, but he could not be



after an expression calculated to win over the wavering, and upon that cumulative article the Senate made its first and test decision. Seven managers served, on behalf of the House, for the prosecution, all members of that body; while five eminent counsel, all private practitioners, including Stanbery, who had resigned as Attorney General to serve among them, conducted the President's defence. The former set of men, each after his own style, might well impress a popular assembly; but in professional equipment for a contest of the judicial kind, they were much outweighed by the latter.¹

"High crimes and misdemeanors in office" the Senate were to pass upon, and not mere matters for censure. As Macaulay had written long before, impeachment, though a fine ceremony which may have been useful in bygone centuries, "is not a proceeding from which much good can be expected"; and this chiefly because politicians are judge and jury and are influenced in their decision by political motives. If this were so in England during the eighteenth century, when Warren Hastings took his trial in the House of Lords, much more did it hold true, in the nineteenth and in a country where a United States Senate held the scales. And if triers of an impeachment were liable to political bias generally, especially so were they here at the present time, when the next tenant of the White House and dispenser of the nation's patronage, were Johnson put out of the way, would be their own President *pro tem.* chosen by the majority of the triers. Later legislation upon calm reflection has placed the succession rather with the President's own cabinet, where neither a President nor a Vice-President, chosen by the people, can at once fill a vacancy.

But a dilatory trial, as in the case of Warren Hastings,

¹ The House managers were John A. Bingham, George S. Boutwell, James F. Wilson, Benjamin F. Butler, Thomas Williams, Thaddeus Stevens and John A. Logan. The counsel for the President comprised Henry Stanbery, Benjamin R. Curtis, Thomas A. R. Nelson, William M. Evarts and William S. Groesbeck. See pictures in *Century Magazine*, January, 1913. p. 421 *et seq.*

Banker, Carter, Adams & Co. asked 400 days for the preparation.
The court gave them 80. The attorneys for the
the President for trial - they were given 60.

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

CHAP. I.

generation arraigned and a later rendered
d not take place, though in both cases the
finally failed. All in this Congress of 1868
on, with the wish to influence a coming con-
May which would put a new Presidential
the Republicans in the field. Johnson's
d for thirty days in which to prepare his
were given only six. Chief-Justice Chase,
esence in his black silk gown, presided with
mpartially, but because of the real fairness of
wards the accused the Senate majority voted
epeatedly. To implacable foes of the Pres-
umner and Chandler, it seemed a waste of
careful testimony; their minds were made up
vidence, and the oath administered seemed
ty. Many other Republican Senators, more
nd unimpassioned, rested upon the necessity
h their party as a unit, or else pleaded with
hat the President was a dangerous man, an
and for that reason as sufficient should be



but like some other colleagues was a hold-over by permission from President Lincoln's cabinet, and hence might be thought not to be within purview of the Tenure of Office act at all. All this, by competent testimony, the President's counsel offered to prove; but, now here and now there, the Senate majority so hampered all admission of testimony favorable to the President that it is hard to say what they knew, upon the submitted evidence, and what they knew well enough without it.

I recall this impeachment scene, in the Senate Chamber, as I viewed it from the gallery for an hour, one day, while on a brief business excursion to Washington. The proceedings, that forenoon, were not interesting, being occupied mainly in some professional wrangle over the admission of testimony, and the attendance was so small that I found ready admission to a seat without the ticket offered me. It was not an impressive spectacle, and, except for the Chief Justice in the presiding officer's chair, with tables and seats in front for counsel and, as I think, a temporary witness-stand, the scene was not much different from that of an ordinary session of the chamber, with which I was familiar, Senators occupying their usual seats. Sadly wanting were the gorgeous accompaniments of such trials as history has described them for former centuries in old England—, with peers robed in gold and ermine, judges in colored vestments, wearing high-bottomed wigs, military men in scarlet uniform and stewards with wands and antique costume to perform the queer ceremonies of mediæval pomp,—all amid the blaze of rich drapery in various colors, and in presence of an illustrious audience of both sexes, half intent and half posing to be pictured. And, most of all, I felt the absence of that famous culprit and conspirator against his country's peace, as rumor had inflamed the people to believe. President Johnson had steadily declined to be part of the present show, or even to lend his cabinet as a body for that purpose. He attended solely by counsel. Could he but have been there in person, bending the knee when

Johnson, case

the Warren Hastings, or listening later to the
orations of our trans-Atlantic Burke or Fox,
of fashion in the galleries might have been
a fit object of curiosity, and his passing
motion watched and recorded. For such a
conspicuous arm chair in front of the Chief
utter, perhaps, an iron cage, with a tipstaff
a, might have been thought appropriate.¹

afforded the opportunity for a display of
ry on one side or the other, but happily it
nothing more. Yet, so strongly had the dom-
of the Senate held its party together, that,
ing a few exceptional Republicans such as
Sumner, Henderson, and Grimes, men of
and ability, had been known to stand out
colleagues on the present issue, a two-thirds
the President seemed assured and would
been given, had not one obscure member of



May the poll was taken, upon the "omnibus" count, the eleventh. That vote, just short of an adverse verdict, proved decisive; though an adjournment was carried until May 26, when another polling upon Johnson's alleged violation of the Tenure of Office act, in attempting to oust Stanton by the Thomas *ad interim* appointment, produced the same result, despite all effort to bring Ross under party discipline. The Democrats had voted against all impeachment. This ended the case and the whole hazardous experiment of removal from office.¹

President Johnson had, in course of the trial, impressed others with an honest consciousness that he had done his duty to the best of his ability and that a good Providence would not permit him to be sacrificed.² And when the actual result was reported to him he showed the same quiet composure, while his countenance lighted up with a pleasant smile.³

Following this second vote, Stanton at once left the War Department of his own accord, and General Schofield became his unopposed successor for the rest of Johnson's term. A Secretary of immense service and energy while our Civil War lasted, one must sadly regret that Stanton's exit from public life was under such conditions. To become a spy and an obstructor, against the Executive nominally served in official confidence, must prove, in the end, a thankless task, as it certainly is odious. That this Union had really no reason to think Andrew Johnson another Arnold or Aaron Burr is clear to our later generation, and that in any case Stanton was not indispensable as Secretary appears by the readiness with which the whole country accepted first Grant and then Schofield in his stead.

And as for the impeachment trial itself, unwelcome as such trials must always be, we may conclude that, considering the verdict which ensued, it was better that

¹ VI. Rhodes, c. 33; Welles's Diary, March-May, 1868.

² Diary, May 2, 1868.

³ *Ib.*, May 26, 1868.

ence between President and Congress should have worked itself out than have been suppressed for perhaps worse mischief. For, however the matter had been kept down in earlier months, a collision between such stubborn adversaries at this late date would have become impossible, and humiliation to one of them must have resulted. Our people seemed to have comforted themselves with philosophy to the uncertainty; for though wagers were offered, here and there, between Johnson and Wade, during those weeks little excitement appeared outside of Washington. The premium on gold fluctuated but slightly, and the people busily pursued their usual avocations.

With Mr. Rhodes that the glory of the trial lay with the seven recusant Republicans who voted with the President and saved Johnson from removal;¹ and of Senator Ross, I think, deserves our chief praise, in that he alone of them lost utter caste with the South since he alone of them lost utter caste with the State he served by his fearless negative.



Charles Dickens, the novelist, who made a reading tour of our Atlantic cities in the winter of 1867-68, drawing great crowds and arousing enthusiasm, made a February call upon President Johnson, while in Washington, ^{February.} by courteous appointment. He thus writes home after the interview: "He is a man with a remarkable face, indicating courage, watchfulness, and certainly strength of purpose. . . . I would have picked him out anywhere as a character of mark."¹

President Johnson took the humor of his unpopular vetoes. At about this time "Mack," a Washington correspondent, used to hold quiet interviews with him at the White House and publish them. Johnson said he preferred this to sending a message to Congress: "for everybody seems to read the interview, while nobody seems to read my messages."²

SECTION VIII.

A FINAL RETROSPECT.

The national convention of Republicans was held at Chicago on the 2d of May, during the interval of the two Senate votes on the impeachment articles, which I have described. Here General Grant was unan- ^{1868,} ^{May.} imously nominated President, with Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House, for Vice President. The platform approved of Congress and its reconstruction policy and emphasized scrupulous good faith towards the public creditor in discharging the debt of the nation.³

Grant was really by acclamation the people's candidate for next President; and provided he allowed his name to be

about 1870: "You were right in your vote and I was wrong." *Century Magazine*, December, 1912, pp. 208, 209.

¹ 2 Forster's *Dickens*, Book X., § 2. Dickens cleared about £20,000 over expenses by this brief tour, but the fatigue and exposure shortened his life. He died June 9, 1870. *Ib.*, Book XI.

² 48 Harper's 232,

³ VI. Rhodes, 158, 159.

was sure of being chosen, whether nominated by party or the other, or without a strict election at all. Now at the acme of his fame, the whole Union went out to him spontaneously to no other American citizen since Harry's triumph as conqueror and preserver was the admirable temper he had thus far shown in the problem of Southern restoration. So far as could be he had borne with becoming patience and the share in reconstruction assigned him by Johnson; and in the only controversy between him and Johnson of making way for Stanton's return—none of him, while leaders dominant in Congress had been pleased with his course. Like the great Earl of Vernon, a grave reticence enhanced the value of his wisdom; deeds more than words spoke of his patriotism and purity were unquestionable and seemed assurance enough. This hero was by precedent a Douglas Democrat and he showed no regard for Johnson's administration at the outset and flattered of late by politicians of



tion—swept into the convention breezily, with a large Northwestern following, hopeful of bringing commoners to oppose investors and the rich on a platform of partial repudiation, or so as to pay off all national obligations in “greenbacks,”¹ as “lawful money,” wherever a statute creating the debt had not distinctly promised coin. “One currency for the government and people, the laborer and office holder, the pensioner and soldier, the producer and the bondholder”—such was the cry already raised in the West against Eastern men, whose wealth was greater, for shifting the burdens of taxation, by no means for the last time nor after the only specious method. But when it came to the choice of candidates Pendleton could not command a two-thirds vote for President and the balloting for a nominee was prolonged. Andrew Johnson received some complimentary votes, as also did Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana and General Winfield S. Hancock. After many votes had been taken without result—New York’s delegates inclining to a coalition for Chief Justice Chase—the convention by a final rally nominated Horatio Seymour, New York’s ex-Governor, on the twenty-second ballot, as though to draft him regardless of his wishes. As permanent chairman of this convention he had repeatedly declined such a nomination, but at last he yielded. With Francis P. Blair, Jr., for Vice-President the party ticket was completed.²

The greenback issue did not figure greatly in the campaign which now followed, but the personal standing of the two opposing chief candidates made the real test. Seymour’s war record was not pleasing to loyalists of the North;³ and, likely enough, Democratic managers had put him forward, not seriously expecting to prevent Grant’s election, but so as to ensure thereby the great State of New York as a vantage ground for

¹ A popular term for the legal-tender notes of the United States, because of their color.

² VI. Rhodes, c. 34; newspapers.

³ VI. Schouler, 417–419, as to the New York draft riot of 1863,

operations. In that limited effort they were But for the electoral votes at large, results at. Grant made no effort to bolster Union against the South, like many of his party leaders. His attitude was pacific and reconciling, and this is what the people wanted. They were tired of radical Southern exclusion and proscription; tired, of the wrangle between Executive and Congress. The harmony of the sections lately in fratricidal war gave them a reasonable assurance that freedom's fruits would content them. Grant had a gift of written words, terse and telling phrases which thrilled the people. One short sentence in his letter of acceptance—"We have peace"—made the real platform by which he won at the polls. To such a platform the North was ready to commit itself; and ex-Confederates, too, showed the magnanimity of their conqueror.¹

He, and before Congress adjourned towards July, seven of the ten excluded States of the South—Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas—had been readmitted.



vote. Statutes to that effect were passed over the President's veto in June. As now reconstructed, these States seemed likely on the whole to work out Republican majorities and increase the electoral totals desired. They had, each and all, save for a difficulty in Georgia's legislature requiring a further discipline, accepted the new basis of full negro qualification at once for suffrage and office holding. As another prerequisite for readmission they had also each duly adopted the XIVth Amendment. Congress, in such readmission acts declared it fundamental as to each of these commonwealths that no later State constitution or constitutional amendment should ever deprive any class of its present constitutional rights.¹

Three, however, of the ex-Confederate States were still left under the ban—Virginia, Mississippi and Texas—, their several processes being still incomplete when the two Houses adjourned. They remained for the present under military rule and none of them cast a Presidential vote or gained readmission to Congress during Johnson's term of office. Counting, however, the seven renovated States, the XIVth Amendment was proclaimed ratified in July, 1868; and, to leave no cavil in the official proclamation to that effect Congress declared specifically that this Amendment had now become part of the constitution.²

As long foreshadowed, the popular election of November, 1868, showed the Republican ticket of Grant and Colfax triumphant at the polls. Unitedly they carried 26 States with 214 electoral votes, while Seymour and Blair won but 8 States with 80 electoral votes. The popular majorities stood 3,015,071 for Republicans against 2,709,613 for the Democrats.³

¹ Acts June 22, 25, 1868, U. S. Stats. at Large. For details see VI. Rhodes, 168-178. ² VI. Rhodes, c. 34; U. S. Stats. at Large.

³ VI. Rhodes, c. 34; Electoral Tables, Appendix. Though Seymour carried his own State of New York it was by a narrow margin—10,000 majority in a popular vote of 850,000. Because of the ejection of colored men from the legislature of Georgia, the vote of that State was objected to in the electoral count by Congress, February, 1869, and was consequently announced in the alternative.

met in final session, December 7th. Elated at the polls they showed scant courtesy to the President's opening message. Johnson, "convinced against his will," reaffirmed his dis- attempts to put the white inhabitants of the the domination of negroes, thereby destroying relations of the two races. With hardihood, e urged for the last time a repeal of the Tenure . As to that statute, however, it soon became the President-elect himself strongly wished on his own behalf, and the House in January, of self-consistency, acted in compliance.¹ But deferred action, quite indisposed to lessen the gained under Johnson upon the patronage. mantle of the dead Thaddeus Stevens various intended in our popular branch, but no one it with the assurance of that strenuous leader. Bingham and Butler were the chief contestants , but each was hindered, and the latter more by a quarrelsome disposition which detached while the one was an able and effective speaker,



The most, if not the only significant action taken by Congress at this final session was in proposing to the States a XVth Amendment, which forbade the denial or abridgment of one's right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Such a fundamental change, with a hearty two-thirds assent in both Houses, aimed not so much to place new bonds upon the vanquished South as to nationalize, for the whole Union, essential terms already forced practically upon that section. Yet a difference remained in favor of the loyal States, to emphasize, perhaps, the eternal punishment of rebellion. This Amendment left each State to its own free discretion in extending or diminishing the suffrage, provided only that discrimination should apply to all races alike. Nor was an equal racial right to hold office here promised. In both respects a more imperative rule had been imposed upon ex-Confederate States, regardless of all local wishes; and hence, the adoption of this new Amendment by the Union at large presaged Southern changes in present political conditions by the time that States reunited should stand once more co-equal in privilege.

This third and final change of fundamental text, pro-

his home in one of the little tram cars, drawn by a single horse, whose driver was the sole factotum for dealing with passengers, step out on the front platform with a cigar in his mouth, in double disregard of the printed rules posted inside. Notwithstanding this General's abusive tirades against the President and his restless energy in pushing impeachment, he attended the final New Year's reception at the White House, to the amazement of assembled callers. Johnson, suppressing his own feelings, accosted the intruder with bland politeness. Welles's Diary, January 2, 1869.

President Johnson wrote to Truman soon after the impeachment trial was over: "Butler is the most daring and unscrupulous demagogue I have ever known. But his services for the Union during the war can never be over-estimated." And he added a prediction which time verified: "As radical a Republican as he is, you will live to see him away over on the other side, and on all sides—remember what I say." *Century Magazine*, January, 1913, p. 440.

The direct result of the Civil War, marks the that impulsive benevolence towards all of creation alike which had long surged at the last swept away the old sectional safeguard system irreconcilable with those maxims of upon which American government and dependence itself were theoretically based. was God's equal creation of mankind meant racial equality in political as well as civil. A race freed suddenly from bondage and educated be deemed, for voting, as capable the intelligent and experienced of Anglo-Saxon had centuries of traditions in local self-behind them? In abstract sentiment and be sure, this Amendment was noble and sub-eratic; yet the very breadth of its professed ment lent a whisper of doubt. Those of ge were in the minds of its authors; but how of Chinese origin, equally within its literal racial advent on the Pacific coast our white



respects came more slowly. Many at the North, like Greeley, who were liberally disposed, favored coupling "universal amnesty and universal suffrage" as the party policy of the future; but to this the dominant majority of Congress would not assent; and though special acts commanded from time to time the needful two-thirds vote of both Houses for relieving individual disabilities, all general amnesty in the political sense lingered.¹

Our review of Andrew Johnson's administration should not close without some notice of his public achievements disconnected from the long and bitter conflict waged with Congress over Southern reconstruction. In the 1865-1869 latter respect he had, at least, enforced with honest fidelity acts which passed over his veto, much as he disliked them. But, apart from all such legislation, he and his Executive subordinates accomplished much good practical work, during a very difficult term of nearly four years, whose meed of praise posterity should not deny. As for his official use of the patronage it took less than four years after his retirement to realize, but more than forty to fairly acknowledge, that his example shone illustrious in comparison with that of his loudly welcomed successor. A disinterested devotion to the public welfare and freedom from all taint of family profit or advantage appeared at every point. The strongest searchlight thrown upon his public conduct by eager committees of Congress hostile to him and seeking cause of impeachment failed to reveal the slightest trace of corruption or malfeasance. He did not sweep nor attempt to sweep the offices for strengthening himself, and, because he would not do so, party Democrats took unkindly to him. The changes he made of public servants were moderate, and such, for the most part, as were either normal or forced upon him by circumstances. Vacancies he filled almost invariably with judicious substitutes—with incumbents rather elderly

¹ VI. Rhodes, 201-204. Senator John B. Henderson bore the chief part in proposing the XVth Amendment. ✓

...tive, perhaps, yet honest, competent, and
...eir record. Congress humiliated him with
...f Office act in needless dread or because
...ld not control the local patronage to suit
... Many admirable appointments by the
...ed of confirmation out of spite and because
...nt to thwart and annoy him.¹

...rtant posts the Senate left unfilled sooner
...s hated Executive the renown of supplying a
...ent. At a time when the Judiciary greatly
...rcement, Johnson was deprived of the op-
...ill even an existing vacancy of importance.
...n of the Supreme Court died, and to his
...ident named Stanbery, his Attorney General,
...cations admitted of no dispute. But the
...p the appointment long enough for a statute
...wo branches and become a law, which re-
...p the number of justices for the Supreme
...nullified Stanbery's appointment. Such a
...not meant to last; for Grant had hardly been

this minister was expressing disgust with the President and comporting himself at his post somewhat after Sumner's own fashion. Transmitting this complaint the State Department asked not unnaturally an explanation; and Motley, while denying the charge, implied in his answer a right if not a disposition to censure. At the close of his despatch he offered to resign. When this reply was shown the President, he ordered the resignation accepted at once.¹ As a rule Johnson, at this time of life, weighed calmly and fairly the faults and merits of contemporaries, even of his persecutors.²

With skill confirmed by long experience in affairs Johnson proved himself a self-poised administrator of the nation, while heedful of advice. Taking the responsible guidance to himself he steered carefully, though at times hindered and hesitating in perplexing problems which beset him. In dealing with a cabinet well composed and for the most part harmonious in counsel, he encouraged each member to work out his own plans without interference, upholding him against cabals from outside, never intermeddling nor seeking to appropriate the prime glory of achievement to himself.³ Even in vexatious relations with Stanton, he left him master of his own department while recognizing him as Secretary at all.⁴

Under such wise supervision each cabinet chief did well his duty for his country's fame and his own. With

¹ In the Senate Sumner denounced the President's course in scathing terms, and besides calling for an investigation he prevented the confirmation of any one to his friend's vacancy while this President's term lasted. See Diary, Jan. 18, 19, Feb. 1, 1867; 2 John Bigelow's Retrospections, 634-648, where this "McCracken" incident is fully discussed.

² See *e. g.* letter of 1868 printed in *Century Magazine*, January, 1913, p. 439.

³ For matters pertaining to department routine, Johnson left each chief usually to himself, unless the latter preferred to bring a subject into conference. *Men and Measures*, 369, 377, 386.

⁴ Welles's *Diary*, *passim*.

ential labor was to reduce expenses and place establishment on a peace footing. The War after May, 1865, had duties similar, excepted in the Southern occupation. Harlan of the Interior managed in turn the concerns of patents, lands and Indians, besides a business, enormously growing. Under Randall, General, and Dennison his predecessor, postal facilities abroad received attention, routes restored at the South and a new business towards the Pacific coast. Speed, Evarts served capably in succession as general.

The chief routine honors of this administration were the Secretaries of State and the Treasury, McCulloch. Seward exalted this administration for himself a lasting renown by three acts of diplomacy: (1) In bringing French into a close in Mexico while keeping our interest in France and Louis Napoleon unruffled.¹



demnity for the "Alabama" spoliation as arranged by the next administration.

No small share of the tactful diplomacy which secured Alaska's purchase was shown by Seward in gaining the consent of a Congress strongly hostile to this administration, both to confirming the treaty in the Senate and appropriating the money afterwards by a joint resolution.¹ Kind feeling towards Russia, whose minister had proposed the transfer, and whose Emperor had been our Union's firm friend through the Civil War, had its influence upon Congress in inducing the purchase of what many members then considered a vast wilderness of rocks and ice, barren and unproductive.²

Russian Alaska, like the Louisiana territory, came to the United States at the instance of a European emperor who wished to strengthen our domination of this continent while supplying his own money chest. By each purchase we gained an area which British Canada might have wished to absorb in rivalry. But, unlike all former

¹ The treaty itself was drawn up at night in the State department, upon the formal sanction of terms by despatch from the Czar, which Baron Stoeckl, the Russian minister at Washington, had brought to Seward early in the evening; and, with Senator Sumner present on a summons, the document was signed at four in the morning of March 30, 1867. Before Sumner's committee in the course of the same forenoon the treaty was produced, with Sumner warmly urging its confirmation. In the House Thaddeus Stevens advocated appropriation for the purchase, aided by Banks, the House chairman of Foreign Affairs.

² It would appear that Baron Stoeckl's proposal to sell was hastened by a dispute over the American right to take fish in adjacent waters. Seward's Travels, 58. For a territory of 577,390 square miles the United States paid \$7,200,000 in gold. See William A. Dunning in 27 Political Science Quarterly, No. 3, for some interesting details as to the cost. Alaska was at first leased by our government to a private company engaged in furs, fish and Arctic products. American enterprise and exploitation have brought rich mines of gold and coal to view more recently. Since its purchase Alaska has already yielded, in fur, fish and gold, about \$150,000,000. 9 Halsey's Great Epochs, 105 (1912). See also VI. Rhodes, c. 35. .

on our part, this was not of adjacent but
itory. Yet it was part of North America,
ose continental confines to which alone the
our federo-national system, with its self-
as, is safely and consistently limited. With
ion in view, expansion by peaceful purchase
been carried into the West Indies at this
ngress permitted, relieving our continent of
European sovereignty, though a lesser one,
ire. While Lincoln was alive Seward had
iations for purchasing from Denmark the
Thomas for a naval station, and after three
d a cession of both the Danish islands St.
St. John, for \$7,500,000. The treaty failing
Congress, an extension of the compact was
October, 1869. Grant meanwhile succeeded
e Presidency; there was a new Secretary of
rk had ratified, and an intelligent population
ls prepared willingly to transfer their allegi-



which Johnson at the many banquets tendered to him mingled with diplomacy, as though waiving all apology for wrongs over which our people were sore, this treaty was doomed to disapproval in the Senate, though it was held over until Grant's administration.¹

Secretary McCulloch's services to this administration and the country were those of a sound and conservative financier, unreservedly committed to sustaining the public credit and punctiliously meeting all obligations of the government according to the spirit of its contract. He proved himself honest and patriotic in all public dealings and wise in economies. All the great subordinates of the Treasury who had faithfully served under President Lincoln he kept in place and chose others to assist him who were men of probity and efficiency, first of all. Absorbed in facts, figures and the business of his department McCulloch had neither taste nor inclination to play politics with the patronage. For revenue officers in the South he chose ex-rebels who could be trusted in handling public funds, rather than confine himself to adventurers, nominally loyal, but likely to embezzle. But he was no reactionist. One who administers finance is brought into close dealings with men of capital, yet this Secretary was never subservient to wealth.²

¹ See next c., Section 1: VI. Rhodes, 335-337.

² This Secretary's final report before retirement made a good showing. He had brought into manageable shape some \$13,000,000 of temporary loans, without producing a financial crisis or even disturbing the usual business of the country. He had reduced the public debt upwards of \$470,000,000 in the course of some three years and a half, and this, notwithstanding large advances made to the new Pacific railways and the cost of Alaska. With the important expert aid of David A. Wells, specially appointed to his department, McCulloch had devised plans for adjusting better the burdens of taxation. Anxious, furthermore, to reduce the volume of paper money in circulation he had made effort in that direction, with the consent of Congress; but business suffered under so drastic a purge and contraction was stopped by an act of early 1868. VI. Rhodes, c. 35.

efforts were made at times by the Blair to have Seward and McCulloch removed from office, but Johnson firmly upheld them both. As to the Secretary of State an ignoble clinging to office had been failing on his part, and he tendered, in fact, his resignation on the 23d of August, 1867, in terms of resignation. That resignation was not accepted, and his relations with this Executive continued to the last.¹ McCulloch was charged by Democratic def-makers with a cunning duplicity in awarding patronage of his department, and that charge he stoutly denied. We may well believe, as Attorney-General Seward wrote to the President in July, 1868, that the cabinet had sacrificed by the Senate, that the cabinet had served Johnson faithfully and no advantage was apparent for a change.²

His ingratitude, habitual to him, scarcely concealed by his politeness and imperiousness he felt at the flattering



attend a dinner given in New York to which he was invited, should Welles, Randall or McCulloch be present.¹ When, not long after, Andrew Johnson's sixtieth birthday was observed at the White House, December 29, by a juvenile party given for his young grandchildren, and invitations were sent to Grant's children with the rest, the President-elect would not let them go.² The New Year's reception of 1869 next followed, when army and navy officers make ceremonious call habitually upon the Executive; and on this occasion Grant, still General in command, made himself conspicuously absent. Finally, as inauguration day approached, he had it announced through the press that he refused to ride ^{1869.} March to the capitol in the same carriage with the retiring President.

Of Johnson personally McCulloch has written: "He never cherished animosity after a contest was over."³ In contrast to his fellow-loyalist Brownlow, his attitude toward the fallen foes of his own section should confirm that opinion. In the juvenile party invitation was meant, perhaps, an overture to Grant of returning friendliness. But, whatever his feelings over the repeated slights now put upon him, Johnson suppressed all show of emotion. The 4th of March arrived. The President did not go to Capitol Hill, in the forenoon, as customary, to sign the last bills, but had them brought to him at the White House. Seward and Evarts of the cabinet, eager that public appearances should be kept up as far as possible—for at high noon, this day, not only would a President be sworn in as Johnson's successor but a new Congress would meet and organize in both branches, an unwonted spectacle—, proposed that Johnson with his cabinet should attend the inaugural ceremonies in their own carriages. The President was non-committal, hoping, perhaps, though in vain, that some correction of the affront

¹ Welles's Diary.

² Diary, Dec., 1868.

³ Men and Measures, 405.

him at the last moment. The clock struck and the carriages were announced at the door. "I," Johnson quietly, "we will finish our work by and, shaking hands with his counsellors, he engaged and was driven from the White House to his family as a private citizen at their temporary abode. In short, this President followed the example of his predecessors, however reluctantly, in absenting himself from the induction ceremonies of a successor.¹

While in Washington long enough to make a final and take a leisurely leave of friends, Johnson's family began on the 18th of March the return journey to Tennessee. Before doing so, however, he delivered a farewell address to the people, those bosom friends and the choice, justifying and upholding the conduct of his Presidency. Northern presses, as in duty bound, attacked that document with ridicule, but the fairest of them conceded that some points in it were well

Cabinet advisers who left office together with



ocean, with his family party. In Asia, northern Africa and Europe he received notable attentions as an illustrious American citizen. Passing a quiet year at home after his return he died at Auburn in October, 1872, cheerful and optimistic to the last.¹

However disheartening might have been the general attitude of the country towards Johnson when he left the Presidential office, his own Tennessee remained true to the last. When, a few months after he reached home, that State threw off the Brownlow vindictiveness and went conservative at the polls by a large majority our whole people were startled by the likelihood that its legislature would send Andrew Johnson back to sit at once among the Senators who had voted for his impeachment and renew discussion, if he chose, with his whilom Secretary *ad interim* now installed at the White House. Pressure was brought to bear from Washington to avert such a situation; and by "an infamous combination," as his personal friends styled it, the ex-President was barely defeated and a Tennessee neutral was sent to the Senate in his stead.² But Johnson steadily increased his hold upon the affections of the State he had served so long and faithfully. Another opportunity occurred; and in January, 1875, Tennessee's legislature chose him a

¹ See Seward's *Travels around the World*, edited by his adopted daughter, Olive Risley Seward, and published in 1873. In a public eulogy delivered that year before the New York legislature, Charles Francis Adams praised the deceased statesman as one who had saved the nation by his judicious management of the Trent affair, and otherwise exalted his services in the Civil War. That tribute called forth a bitter publication from Blair and Welles; as survivors of President Lincoln's cabinet, they claimed that the oration disparaged Lincoln for the laudation of his premier. See "Lincoln and Seward," a book made up chiefly of magazine articles written by Welles, to which Blair contributed an estimate vitriolic to the last degree. This joint diatribe seems to have been less on Lincoln's behalf than for belittling to posterity the Secretary of State, a colleague they had strongly antagonized.

² Johnson Ms. Johnson lost by two votes. *Am. Cyclopedia*, 1869.

Congress—the only instance, hitherto, in which an ex-President has gained such retirement, though the long and splendid career of Quincy Adams in the House is familiar. It came too late in Johnson's case for a renewed lease of life were nearly run out; and, though he came to Washington to take his seat for a brief executive term in March, he died during the summer, July 31, after returning home.

The maligned Executive was, on the whole, hard-headed and his record presents aspects contrasting with the popular rank of Andrew Johnson as of a strong and straightforward man. The forest, which has grown up distorted by the process of reconstruction, twisted out of shape and crooked, yet vigorous at the core. He was stubborn in his opinions where he thought himself right, and he fought for them; yet those opinions were not extreme, and such as only a sound and independent man could have formed. Congress wished in Andrew Johnson a Vice President a compliant Executive

ity and forbearance towards those who had injured him he gave many proofs.¹

Johnson, as McCulloch further states, was a kind and helpful neighbor, a tender and indulgent father. He was proud of his daughters and had reason to be; for they were devoted to him; "and more sensible, unpretending women were never in the White House."² At this period of life he was scrupulously neat in person and attire, cared little for theatricals, concerts or other social amusements, preferring to remain quietly at home in the evenings; he looked on all kinds of gambling as wrong and was never present at a horse race.³

Welles closes his Diary record of Johnson's administration with these impressive words: "Transient are the deeds of men and often sadly perverted and misunderstood."⁴ Such a comment, though well founded in human experience, we should not wish to rest upon; but rather, if we may, to rescue each great exemplar from obloquy and place him upon his just plane of historical merit before the coming age.

¹ Men and Measures, 405.

² *Ib.*, 406. His son, Robert, who aided him at the White House, died in April, 1869. See also Welles, *supra*, p. 9.

³ Truman in Century Magazine, January, 1913, p. 436.

⁴ Diary, April 17, 1869.

See also

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

PERIOD OF FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

March 4, 1869—March 4, 1871.

PERIOD OF FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

March 4, 1871.—March 4, 1873.

SECTION I.

A DISAPPOINTING OUTSET.

These days does an American stand in presence of a great man, mortal with a mingled sense of awe, gratitude and affection. I never had that feeling but once and



do what is just and kindly and yet not to be imposed upon, if he maintains a natural reserve throughout the interview, neither haughty in manner nor ingratiating, betraying not the slightest effort to elicit expressions of gratitude—, all the more striking is the impression he produces, since it differs so greatly from the manners of most public men we encounter.

Such was Grant, upon a civilian's first interview with him in 1868, as he sat at his desk up-stairs in a private office, while a miscellaneous throng waited below for admittance in his main reception room, where members of his staff sifted the business which had brought them. Often as I saw him, during the eight eventful years of his Presidency which followed later, that feeling of affectionate reverence towards him on this earliest occasion failed of renewal. Perhaps the military undress suit which he wore when I then saw him, but not afterwards, enhanced the atmosphere of distinction. Any warrior of renown who exchanges the uniform of his calling for the conventional garb of a civilian loses much of the impressive aspect. Kings and potentates of earlier times well understood the effect of ermine robes, crowns, sceptres and a glittering retinue, for drawing the general homage; nor were our own forefathers, a few generations back, averse to spectacular distinctions of dress and make-up, such as dissociated rank and station from the common herd. All government, however, which depends upon public opinion and the popular ballot becomes levelling in its manifestations, and our modern civilized life tends to a common costume, while the self-conscious effort to make friends and votes more and more detracts from the dignity of official reserve once prevalent.

At all events, be the military commander we idolize great in stature, like Washington or Wellington, or of undersize, like Napoleon, "the little Corporal," or Grant himself, we worship him as one physically unlike the average. Yet somehow Grant, the General, as first beheld in military dress, appeared to me quite a different person from Grant the President, rigged out at a ball in white tie

and regulation black suit, or when seen standing alone in early dusk at the White House gate, with glossy top hat, smoking a fragrant cigar.

Something of that earlier illusion which Grant's splendid war record had created in the minds of his fellow-citizens when they spontaneously exalted him to the Presidential chair began to disappear as his actual administration of that difficult office was disclosed. Welles, with ^{1869, March.} jaundiced eye and yet ample chance for observation, had already set down this idol of the people as one ignorant of the simplest rules of constitutional government and stupidly indisposed to receive instruction.¹ And, dismissing all prejudice save that in his favor, we may fairly conclude that Grant entered upon his supreme Executive career, honest, well-meaning and patriotic beyond question, and yet without delicate perceptions of official duty and example and with something of a disposition to play the potentate. Like Washington, with whom so many of us had associated him, he was a man of reserved speech on whom a grateful country leaned. Yet, in his brief inaugural address, he showed self-confidence, and none of that tremulous anxiety, that shrinking dread of disappointing fond hopes, such as Washington had shown when sworn into that same office.² And with equal self-confidence, on the day following his induction, he sent to the Senate for confirmation a cabinet list which he had made up with the secrecy of a commander-in-chief about to conduct a military campaign, neither

¹ Diary, Dec. 12, 1868. "Horse flesh has more charms for him than brains or intellect. . . . He loves money, admires wealth, is fond of power and ready to use it remorselessly. . . . He does not intend to labor like a drudge in office, does not propose to study public affairs, has no taste for books or intellectual employment." *Ib.*

² The purpose Grant expressed, in this inaugural address, was to conduct affairs for the public good, without favor or partiality, and to have no policy against the will of the people. This gave great satisfaction. "The responsibilities of the position I feel," said he, "but accept them without fear." VI. Rhodes, 236.

political party leaders nor public sentiment having been consulted by him in advance.

That cabinet list gave to our expectant country its first pang of disappointment over this new administration. Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois was named for Secretary of State; Alexander T. Stewart of New York for Secretary of the Treasury; General John A. Rawlins for the War and Adolph E. Borie of Pennsylvania for the Navy Department; Jacob D. Cox of Ohio for Secretary of the Interior; E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts for Attorney General, and John A. J. Creswell of Maryland for Postmaster General.

To citizens of independent politics Cox and Hoar were highly acceptable; the one a gallant soldier who had just served his State as Governor; the other an incumbent of the Supreme bench of Massachusetts, a well-trained lawyer and a man of sturdy Puritan stock, though but little known in national politics. Creswell, too, who had served in Congress, filled expectation fairly as a border-State representative in the Cabinet. But in the other four appointments Grant had clearly made favoritism paramount. Borie was a rich Philadelphian, of whom little was known except that he had subscribed handsomely towards a house lately given to the President-elect. Both Washburne and Rawlins had been Grant's fellow-townsmen of Galena, whose friendship was strongly identified with his military rise; and while Rawlins, though scarcely known to the public, could be vouched for as strongly influential for good with the commander on whose staff he had long served, Washburne was too well known for Congress to feel confidence in him for premier. Long a useful member of the House for routine business, he had shown no aptitude for that higher and broader range of statesmanship in international dealings which the State Department exacts, nor was he the right kind of man for an inexperienced Chief Executive like Grant to lean upon for advice. Lastly, Stewart, whose administrative skill for the Treasury no one could doubt, in view of the immense retail es-

he had built up for himself, not only had a
against the government as chief importer at
custom house, but had lately put down his
5,000 for bestowal upon the President-elect,
to invite an appointment.¹

On misgivings, the Senate promptly confirmed
the nomination. But, two days after, Stewart was found
ineligible for his post, since the act of 1789, which created
the Department of Commerce, forbade that any one directly
concerned in carrying on trade or commerce
should be Secretary. Upon this discovery President
Grant called Congress to except him specially from the
provisions of that act; but unanimous consent for introduc-
ing such an amendment to that effect could not be had in the
Senate. Stewart, unwilling to wholly relinquish his busi-
ness, declined the nomination.² To the vacancy succeeded George S.
Boutwell. His nomination was gladly confirmed; for
his faithful in every public task committed to
him, and his unblemished personal character. Boutwell
made a desired link to join Grant with the



accepted their present posts with reluctance—the one inclining at this stage of life to travel and leisure, and the other preferring to remain in Congress. But the new administration profited by such sacrifice of inclination, and on the whole Grant's cabinet as now made up was a good one. It was not destined, however, to remain long unchanged.¹

Under the short-lived act of 1867² Congress, for the first and only time in our annals, had convened in both branches on inauguration day. James G. Blaine, henceforth a recognized champion of the Republican faith, was chosen Speaker of the House, while Schuyler Colfax, now Vice-President, transferred his presence and authority to the Senate Chamber. The two branches remained in joint session until April 10 and then adjourned to December; the Senate lingering longer for a special Executive session which closed April 22.

The earliest enactment under this administration was that of March 18, for strengthening the public credit. Conformably to the Republican platform and Grant's inaugural exhortation it pledged government to the payment "in coin or its equivalent" of all outstanding bonds and notes, unless specifically issued as payable in a different currency. This act, which passed by decisive majorities in both Houses, was the first to which President Grant set an official signature.³

A repeal of the Tenure of Office act, Grant now insisted upon; holding back the lesser appointments at his disposal until his wish in that respect should be complied with. By more than three to one the House voted in compliance; and the Senate which had deferred action in the previous Congress, was now compelled to meet the issue openly. Unwilling to give up its new authority, that body refused concurrence; but, after much effort, a compromise was reached in conference whereby President

¹ VI Rhodes, c. 36.

² *Supra*, p. 89.

³ Act March 18, 1869; VI. Rhodes, 241, 242.

might drive a bargain together in case of
ilities; while the former became relieved from
entially his reasons for displacement.¹

d a pell-mell scramble for the national offices,
gate had increased prodigiously in course of
te Civil War. In vain had Jenckes of Rhode
sought to interest fellow-members of the
reform bill for the civil service which he had
brought forward, supposing the new Execu-
athly with such a policy. For most of the
publicans in Congress were now seen raven-
upon soliciting patronage for their cormorant
constituents and becoming in effect office
principals for the party plunder now open to

It was by no means an exaggerated estimate
l 45,000 national offices at public disposal,
applicants eager to fill them. The spoilsmen's
l in air and fell upon the entrance doors far
sweeping machine, for a mere broom could

/ Motley, through Sumner's friendship, gained now the exalted mission to London as a consolation prize for his recent grief at Vienna;¹ though, strangely enough, that friendship involved him soon in a second and worse humiliation under this new President than he had undergone already. / Washburne, as we have seen, went to France, where, among the stirring scenes of the Franco-German war which soon broke out, he acquitted himself with much honor under the many delicate duties which devolved upon him. John Jay was made minister to Austria; Bancroft remained in Prussia and George P. Marsh in Italy. Ex-Governor Curtin went to Russia, and, after some obstacles to his confirmation, General Sickles, with less applause, took the place of John P. Hale in Spain.

Grant's new diplomatic list, inclusive of secretaries and consuls, showed a fairly clean sweep of those placed abroad by the lamented Lincoln and retained for the most part by his next successor, and as a whole the change was not an improvement. But here, as in the more available offices at home, it was remarked, that ex-Congressmen of the dominant party found peculiar favor with this President. Nearly every Republican of the two Houses who had failed of re-election gained, in fact, a berth somewhere, though many had been defeated for good reasons. But editors who had worked hard for the hero's promotion were mostly disregarded.² As with the higher offices, so with the lesser ones, Executive departments were busy, all summer, in weeding out and supplanting subordinates. Each new collector at a leading port was importuned for jobs and sinecures, and so were the chief postmasters. And now presses of high ideals, exultant at first over Grant's accession, began to hedge in their comments. "Let's be patient and not find fault," was the *Nation's* first advice in May. But by September, while still a defender of the President, that press was forced to admit "with shame and regret," that Grant's administration had "not only made bad appointments, but probably

¹ *Supra*, p. 132.

² N. Y. *Nation*, April 15 & 29, 1869.

Askel & his son July 1, 1870 - he refused with p. doc. *Position*
 offered to Frederick Douglass & T. J. Trenchard - both refusing it.

orst ever made by a civilized Christian gov-

inful feature of the situation was disclosed not escape censure. Anxious to establish his e, long harassed by poverty before the war struggle for the means of existence, Grant en led to admire and cultivate the rich who his acquaintance. Viewing, moreover, his military service to the Union in its profes- as he might well have done had he remained nking general, his mind dwelt upon the solid n England had bestowed upon her Marl- Wellington, and he deemed himself a fair gifts from his fellow-citizens. Hence, with gard for what was most becoming in a Chief osen to serve the whole people, he had ac- e donations of one kind or another, while t, which laid him under obligations to in- espite his imperturbable demeanor. Grant



shall refer presently. Two brothers of the President's wife figured in Washington during these earlier years—General Dent, an amiable man, on duty at the White House, and Judge Louis Dent, who came upon the scene to pursue a shady practice about the lobbies and committee rooms of the capitol. Whether placed thus by the President of his own free choice or imposed by their own importunity, Grant suffered by their conspicuousness in the estimation of the public.

Indeed, such early example of gift-taking and favoritism disappointed extremely and widened its baneful influence to the outer circumference of public authority. Corrupt and corrupting citizens, of whom there were many at this time and are at all times, in and out of official life, saw quickly and took advantage of the weak spot disclosed in one hitherto thought invulnerable. Members of Congress of vicious tenets or suspected morals, men against whom Grant's inaugural speech seemed pointed, began at once to gain a hold upon this President's confidence and to become his special advocates in debate and legislation. Scoundrelly jobbers, railroad-wreckers and money-makers laid snares and began the smooth approach for opportunities; too wary to offer direct bribes to one who would have indignantly spurned them, but sounding insidious ways into his regard by gifts and flattering attentions to those nearest him. To endanger the situation still more, this President surrounded himself with young staff officers who took up ante-room and amanuensis duties at the White House, guarding the audience approaches as they had done at his army headquarters. They messed together, discussed together, and held relations of special confidence with their commander. Not all of that conclave were proof against temptation. They did not, like Jackson's famous kitchen cabinet, exalt their chief politically, for of politics they knew little; but they were felt a constant annoyance to civilians and older men who had business to transact at the White House.

And, once more, since our hero found himself indulged so freely at the capitol in the lesser appointments which

** Tried to get governorship of Mass -*

home he could not but be easy-going over the demands which party Congressmen wanted in return. A double impulse was given to letting down the bar in that dispensation of the patronage which had lasted more than six months of this much hoped-for administration. It brought it into such wide discredit.

Of his brothers-in-law our President was not to make an issue, during these early months, where he was to turn himself to deeper schemers who reached for more influence. One of these was Judge Dent, who was put forward by the Conservatives of Mississippi soon put forward as their candidate for governor against the Republicans in the hope of a White House support; and he had to make open announcement that his support would go to the other candidates, in harmony with the President's wishes; notwithstanding which, Dent, whose residence in Mississippi or another mattered little to him, went on with his personal canvass, but without success.¹ The other was A. R. Corbin of New

market by Presidential permission at the critical moment he forced rates down again to their proper standard, and shivered the malign conspiracy to atoms.¹

The popular revulsion over scandalous official revelations, imperfectly understood, was shown in various State elections of this autumn. Though Ohio and Pennsylvania by a light vote continued Re-^{November.}publican, New Jersey kept steadfast to the Democrats, whose party in New York now became fully restored to power for the first time in fifteen years, the immediate contest, however, turning upon minor State offices only. In some of the Northern States the election went nominally upon the issue of licensing or prohibiting liquor.²

Two changes in Grant's cabinet had meanwhile occurred. Borie resigned in June, assigning ill health and the demands of private business as his reasons; Rawlins ^{June-} died early in September. To their vacant places ^{September.} were assigned George M. Robeson of New Jersey as Secretary of the Navy and William W. Belknap of Iowa as Secretary of War. Both these men were well spoken of; the one as an able lawyer and attorney general of his State, the other as a volunteer officer who had served acceptably in the Civil War and was since a collector of internal revenue. But neither brought political strength to the administration nor was nationally known.²

A pleasing incident of May this year, had been the completion of our transcontinental railroad to San Francisco and the Pacific slope, an achievement long desired and delayed. The Union Pacific railroad ^{May.} pushing westward, and the Central Pacific of California eastward, their termination, fixed by statute at Promon-

¹ For a full narrative of the "Black Friday" episode see VI. Rhodes, 247-257, with citations. Corbin was protected from loss by Gould, who, gaining timely knowledge of the new move resolved upon by government, saved himself from disaster, while Fisk threw his own losses upon his brokers. See also I. Andrews's *Quarter-Century*, 40-45.

² Newspapers of the day.

June 28
Sept. 6
(after an
interview of
W. T. Shaw

near Ogden, was reached the present month: the 10th, among wilderness surroundings, the presence of a motley company, including rail-roads from the Atlantic and Pacific slopes, work-people of European or Caucasian nativity, and a Mormon from Utah, ties were laid over a short intervening distance, and iron rails joined; the last spike, a golden one, was driven by the sledge hammer, while each blow was joyfully recorded by telegraph east and west. The event was joyfully observed in many of our chief cities, and was celebrated with a procession seven miles from New York City with a salute of one hundred guns, a religious service at Trinity Church; Philadelphia, with the pealing notes from the old liberty bell. It ushered in the first iron ligature which ever united the two ocean coasts of this continent—an event by no means the least for our people in the nineteenth century.¹

SECTION II.



At this present stage of his career, and while in the prime of health and manhood, Boutwell was a radical Republican, bigoted in his politics and a devout believer that all public patronage and emolument should be confined to those of his strict party faith. But among subordinates of his own political creed he preferred to employ the honest and efficient rather than the shiftless and vicious, though yielding somewhat to the evil influences of fellow partisans less scrupulous than himself. In dealing with the finances of the nation Boutwell showed himself a good administrator, exact and punctilious, an economizer in matters both public and private who could make ends meet, and one of personal integrity unquestioned and unquestionable. A strong believer in honor and good faith towards the public creditors, and fortified by the statute assertion of such a policy, he followed closely in the footsteps of his predecessor, McCulloch, though with better means and opportunity for pursuing the course of rectitude.¹ And now that the public coffers overflowed, he introduced at once two new features of department policy, both praiseworthy: (1) clear and comprehensive statements of the Treasury condition were published monthly; (2) with the surplus gold bonds were bought in the market, so that the aggregate debt of the Union became practically reduced in advance of contract dates for redemption. He even undertook to enhance the public credit and confidence by paying registered and coupon interest before it fell due, but to this practice there were objections.

In giving notice in advance that he meant to come into the market at stated times to buy gold, this Secretary gave further proof of his disposition to take the public

¹ During the open discussions of 1868 President Johnson broached a plan of his own for compromising with the creditors of war times. But none of his cabinet yielded support to his scheme, and it attracted little or no attention from the public. Both Welles and McCulloch disapproved and regretted, and the President seems to have made no effort to convert them to his views.

ce, and give steadiness to business. His somewhat from such a course on the "Black sion, so as to break up the ring of gold gam- aralyzed trade for their own greedy gain, remendous power our Treasury could exert e were it so disposed; and the fact that we ry wise, courageous and never scheming for ehment, proved of inestimable worth to this n. Boutwell would have bought up green- me of his metallic overflow, thereby reducing mass of paper currency still in circulation; h's former experiment in that direction had uring; and fearing a contraction distressful t Congress withheld its consent. But the national debt decreased rapidly in these t years and this Secretary's reports, while n office, made a good showing.¹

t bonds fell due at later dates specified, er currency, if due at all, was due and over- How, if ever, to return to specie payments,

far as the original act of 1862 was concerned, our highest tribunal of justice so often invoked with its process by suitors opposed to a contemporaneous policy, rendered a decision adverse to a legal tender currency in 1870, February, 1870. The court was divided; and Feb. 7. Chief Justice Chase, in pronouncing the opinion of the majority, frankly renounced the views he had held, when, as Secretary of the Treasury, he had recommended the creation of such a currency. Of the dissenting justices Samuel F. Miller delivered the opinion—an able and vigorous incumbent, who recalled the famous Story both in legal diversions and worthiness of a judicial promotion never attained. The main question here was whether a clear prohibition to the States expressed in our written charter of government extended in effect to the United States. The majority of the court, upholding the spirit of the text, ruled that it did; but the minority, regarding the strict letter of the constitution, maintained that it did not.¹

When the court reached that decision, the last of the November previous, four justices sided with Chase—Nelson, Clifford, Grier and Field; but before the opinion was pronounced, Grier had resigned. By an act of Congress, passed while Johnson was President, the number of justices in this tribunal was reduced from nine to seven; and by an act of 1869 it was increased to nine again.² When the latter act took effect in December, 1869, there were two vacancies in the court, caused by the death of Wayne of Georgia, a Union loyalist, and Grier's resignation. For one vacancy President Grant named Hoar, his Attorney General, and for the other Stanton. Stanton was at once confirmed but died a few days after, a shattered wreck of his former self; but Hoar, whose nomination went over the recess, was rejected February 3, 1870. Two vacancies in the Supreme Court were unfilled in consequence, when the Legal Tender decision was rendered; and on that same 7th of February the President nomi-

¹ *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wallace, 624.

² *Supra*, p. 132.

nated William Strong of Pennsylvania and Joseph P. Bradley of New Jersey, both of whom were speedily confirmed and took their places.¹

The result of these two changes was to constitute a court whose majority would now sustain the Legal Tender acts as constitutional and the greenback currency as lawfully issued; and, had Grant's two appointees of December gone upon the bench instead, the original majority would most probably have given opinion to that effect. Both President and Attorney General now appeared to desire and expect a reversal; and by May,

1871. 1871, that was accomplished. Not only the original act of 1862 was at length pronounced constitutional, but all the Legal Tender acts of the Civil War. And by 1884 the Supreme Court, as then reconstructed, abandoned wholly the doctrine of constitutional

1884. restriction and decided almost unanimously that Congress had omnipotent discretion, instead, whether in times of peace or war, to prescribe a national currency of its choice, whether of specie or paper. So sweeping a sanction—which, after all, applied in fact only to issues and reissues of these Civil War bills of credit—may lead some day to terrible disaster financially, unless public opinion compels Congress to constraint,² or the dictum here pronounced is qualified or repudiated by the same tribunal.

Congress being thus left to its own initiation of specie payments, as seemed fitting, that body took its own time for such accomplishment. Yet, as the saying went in those days, the only way for the country to resume was to resume;³ in other words, that courage must be summoned

¹ It was said that these two justices were selected to help reverse this decision, but such probably was not the case. See citations in VI. Rhodes, 270-272.

² Cf. Legal Tender Cases, 12 Wall. 475; *Juilliard v. Greenman*, 110 U. S. 421. And see at length VI. Rhodes, 258-273. Following the majority reverse of 1871, there was much bitterness in this tribunal during the brief remnant of the Chief Justice's life.

³ A phrase which, I think, originated with Horace Greeley.



in the body politic sooner or later, to endure a painful operation. Meanwhile, to increase his Treasury savings, Boutwell sought and obtained statute authority to fund the existing national debt at discretionary rates, varying from 4 to 5 per cent for differing lengths of time. Under such a sanction he tried to induce holders of the five-twenty 6's to exchange their bonds for a new $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent issue; but a year's experiment failing of much accomplishment at home the Secretary pushed his ^{1870-72.} loan abroad with better success, though not without extra expenses involved in the employment of foreign bankers.¹

With an abundant Treasury the pressure grew to reduce taxation and relieve the generation which had sustained the whole exhausting sacrifice of fighting for the Union from bearing more than its share of reducing the debt incurred in that conflict. Hence Congress in 1870 brought down internal taxation to a lower limit—not in-^{1870.} deed, sweeping it out altogether, as in earlier epochs, but getting rid of the oppressive and unpopular income tax, which tempted to perjury and evasion, and as to the stamp and other duties leaving only what might be readily collected without vexing the mass of the people and would yield a good revenue besides.² As to customs duties, the cause of protection for our infant industries found both champions and opponents, but a compromise reduction of war duties was effected to an average of about five per cent.³

In foreign affairs the first two years of Grant's Presidency were years of effort rather than achievement. First of all, the Senate, in April, 1869, rejected with contempt the Johnson-Clarendon treaty by 54 to 1, and this for various reasons not wholly just. The present feeling

¹ VI. Rhodes, 273-274; Act July 13, 1870. About \$20,000,000 of the 6 per cents were thus replaced by 5 per cents by December, 1872, shortly before Boutwell retired from office.

² Act July 14, 1870, VI. Rhodes, 280. The taxation of banks, and dealers in spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, etc., was continued.

³ VI. Rhodes, 280.

However, that all settlement of the commercial
endured from Great Britain should be pref-
y an apology on her part, and Reverdy John-
ffusive speeches while minister and negotiator,
s stronger than links of iron " which bound
her-country, were angrily disapproved. With
superfluous arrogance Sumner, as chairman
n Relations Committee in the Senate, followed
ction by an oration, widely published, in-
ted an immense bill, with items of indirect
st England, for prolonging the late rebellion
e favors shown to the Confederates. That
ed the inconsiderate of our countrymen, but
n was greatly provoked and a fierce dis-
o spoliation claims ensued on both sides of

een that Seward's treaty for the purchase of
West India islands failed likewise in the
t elsewhere in that Caribbean archipelago

year without being put down. A Cuban junta in New York City offered for investment bonds of the embryo republic, payable whenever independence should be won, and sought to organize here the material resources of revolution, embroiling, if possible, the United States with the home government at Madrid. General Rawlins, the Secretary of War, whose influence with the President was very great, seems to have inclined favorably to the insurgents. But an expedition to Cuba in violation of our neutrality laws, which a junta was preparing in New York, the government broke up in June, 1869; for at that very moment we were denouncing Great Britain for just such belligerent favors to our own insurgents in 1861-65.¹

Against the conservatism of Fish over Cuban dealings was set the radical pressure of Rawlins, his colleague in the cabinet. Yielding to the latter's advice so far as he cared for advice at all, Grant, with martial mien, ordered a proclamation drawn up, in August, which accorded belligerent rights to the Cuban revolutionists. This he signed while on an excursion to New England and transmitted it to his Secretary of State at Washington with written directions to countersign, affix the official seal and issue it. But Fish, with a better apprehension of international diplomacy, laid the document aside, completing the formalities as ordered, and awaited the President's return. This discreet course saved Grant from grave error, as he afterwards acknowledged; for the proclamation never went forth, and, to the great relief of others in the cabinet, a conservative policy on Cuban affairs developed under the Secretary's own direction. With the death of Rawlins² in fact, all pressure worthy the style of official, for drawing the United States into an

¹ Newspapers.

² Rawlins had (as afterwards appeared) a money interest in Cuban recognition. C. F. Adams's Treaty of Washington, 118. Dying poor, a subscription was started for his family and to this fund the junta in New York made an ostentatious contribution in bonds of the expectant Cuban Republic. Newspapers.

* Grant, on June 9, had asked Sumner about this.

g which had not gone beyond the guerilla suddenly.¹

effort to annex San Domingo to the Union d a far more stubborn disposition. Baez, of that hybrid republic, which shared with pendent government the great island of herished the scheme of selling out to the , his supremacy being far from secure among ulent people.² Grant in July sent down E. Babcock of his White House staff to ex- and report. Great was the amazement in autumn when Babcock returned, bringing treaty written out for the immediate cession ngo with its 120,000 inhabitants in mass, and mulatto. He gave a glowing account als and products of the island soil, such as t in luxury millions of happy people if once r our national direction. To his assembled resident disclosed the situation; Babcock's



highly esteemed him, both socially and officially, made honorable amend and the resignation was withdrawn. To judge by what followed in affairs, the two reached a mutual understanding whereby the Secretary was to support the President in this business and be allowed, in return, to manage British and Cuban concerns in his own way. Babcock went back to San Domingo with full credentials and by the close of November concluded a treaty in due form whereby Baez bound himself to annex his republic and its people to the United States for a round \$1,500,000. And his tenure of office being now quite precarious American war vessels were despatched to help maintain him in power.¹

But to get two-thirds of the Senate to ratify such a treaty was quite another matter. Public opinion in the United States opposed such annexation and suspected corrupt motives. Sumner, the chairman of the essential committee, could not be won over to its support, ^{1870.} notwithstanding the President made an evening call at his residence early in the new year to bespeak his support, misinterpreting the diplomatic answer of the Senator into a consent. On the 15th of March, Sumner's committee reported the San Domingo treaty to the Senate adversely ² and its doom was sealed. In vain did Fish plead with his Massachusetts friend before the final vote was taken; while other Senators were approached by the President himself. The result in the Senate, June 30, was a tie, and hence the treaty was defeated beyond the possibility of a two-thirds approval.³

Great was Grant's wrath at failing where he had so set his heart; and his resentment was directed most against Sumner, whom he accused of going back upon his word. In that respect he had of course misunderstood; but

¹ VI. Rhodes, 349.

² Only Morton and Harlan of the Committee approved the treaty, as against Sumner, Patterson, Schurz, Cameron and Casserly.

³ Congressional Globe; VI. Rhodes, 349, 350. The vote stood 28 to 28.

spoken bitterly of Babcock when the treaty
l behind closed doors and as though to re-
e President's own honor. The next day after
vote Grant ordered Sumner's friend, Motley,
minister to Great Britain; a mandate which
h performed with painful effort, Motley re-
ign and keeping at his post until removed
the following December. Fish's intercourse
cordial with Sumner that he had allowed him
ley's earliest instructions; he had even been
that minister's disposition to press the Sen-
at London, against his own delicate caution.
to keep the peace on all sides was manifest;
otley, upon his removal, wrote an irritating
ch provoked Fish's written comment, Sumner
himself insulted by a reference in the latter
all personal intercourse between Secretary
came to an end.¹

indeed, lost his case with the Senatorial

wisdom of legislators and people, as he should have done in the first place, Grant dropped the whole subject.¹

Meanwhile, however, Grant's quarrel with Sumner had grown greatly, and tattlers and busy-bodies about the capital made the rupture between them wider.² Each was an antagonist to be dreaded, though their methods differed widely: the one lofty in temper, vehement in oratory, and a composer of stinging epithets; the other taciturn, reserved, usually imperturbable in outward demeanor, not given to discussion and yet tenacious of his purpose, resourceful, one who hardened under opposition but might yield to gentle persuasion. Accustomed to form secretly his own plans, Grant felt no moral compunction in using such practical means as he found under his control to force his purpose, if he thought that purpose a worthy one. The saving grace of his executive career was that, even where ignorant or blundering, he was personally uncorrupt, and cherished few points of policy in the initiative, taking up matters rather as they came to him.

But Sumner's self-conceit and desire to dominate had grown upon him with recent years and the development of his strong moral potency after Lincoln's death. Hence the re-opening of the San Domingo issue by the President in the final session of the forty-first Congress was the signal for a public outburst of his most violent and vindictive eloquence, with poetic exaggeration; inflamed, as he persuaded himself, by the tremendous wrong which had been attempted towards distant people of the humble race he befriended, as the passion of his life.³ In successive speeches with figurative titles, numbered like the four Cicero orations against Catiline, and replete with classical citation, he advanced from the iniquity of Babcock and

¹ VI. Rhodes, 354-355; Congressional Globe.

² Sumner did injustice to Grant and Grant to Sumner. G. F. Hoar's Autobiography, 211.

³ See Sumner's private letter to an intimate personal friend (Mrs. James T. Furness), in 2 J. W. Forney's Anecdotes, 263.

rk.

inciations, more and more severe, upon the self. In reported utterances he stigmatized "colossus of ignorance," and his Secretary of State a gentleman in aspect with the heart of a lacquer-Fish, though in sore distress of mind, kept the President he served. Not strangely then, proper channels of intercourse between the Committee of Foreign Relations and the Executive by affront was contrived for Sumner, at the personal instigation, when a new Congress met in March, 1871, by choice of another chairman of the committee with which he had been so long identified. In Congresses chairmen of committees come and go, the public pays little heed to changes; but for Sumner, whose whole grand career of service was a Senatorship from his native State, the rebuff by fellow-members was a humiliation not



blamed for it; and more than one Southern statesman who at length regained leadership in his native State made open acknowledgment of some gracious favor which this President had extended to him in time of turmoil. All such expressions of gratitude Grant cherished in after years.

Three States, Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, were outside the pale of practical readmission, when Grant became President, and upon his recommendation Congress passed an act, as early as April, 1869, for restoring each to normal relations with the Union. Under that act ^{1869, April-} this President set the early date of July 6 for Vir- ^{November.} ginia to hold her State election, and permitted, furthermore, the disfranchising and test-oath clauses of her newly framed constitution to be separately voted on at the polls—a concession highly welcome to the ex-Confederates. After a lively canvass between Conservatives and Radicals in the State the former won, choosing Gilbert C. Walker governor, a resident from the North and a man of business worth and excellent character. The new State constitution was carried at the ballot box with both disfranchising and test-oath clauses defeated, and a majority of the legislature chosen were Conservatives. Thus Virginia had the exceptional good fortune of passing directly from Federal military control to a sane and sensible home rule. Upon Governor Walker's advice the legislature speedily ratified the XVth Amendment and all prescribed qualifications for re-admission were fulfilled.¹

Mississippi's election day was set much later, namely at November 30, under the President's proclamation; and in that State, notwithstanding the Conservatives headed their ticket with Judge Dent, Grant's brother-in-law,² and made a strenuous canvass, the Radicals triumphed at the polls by a large majority and gained full control of the legislature. But, while Mississippi's new constitution was mainly adopted, its proscriptive clauses were voted

¹ VI. Rhodes, 245, 304.

² *Supra*, p. 154.

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD. CHAP. II.

emphasis. In Texas, too, the Radicals elected
ate for Governor and a new constitution

gress re-assembled in December of that year,
situation was not wholly pleasing to stalwart
Republicans. Besides the failure of Virginia
or their party, Tennessee, so long recognized
autonomy that any renewal of discipline was
le, had lurched over from Brownlow's re-
to the Conservatives who applauded Andrew
le both North Carolina and Georgia, among
ates re-admitted in season for the Presiden-
of 1868, had been lately wrenched by the
nite resident voters from the greedy grasp
ggers " with their negro allies.²

of a long discussion in the two Houses was
Virginia, as consistency demanded; not how-
r spirit here compelled, without a harrowing
that each and every member of the legisla-

But, while all the Ex-Confederate States were now nominally back in the Union once more and represented in both Houses of Congress, Georgia for a longer space was a stumbling-block in the path to complete reconstruction. The trouble with her went back to September, 1868, when negro members were expelled from the State legislature, and in consequence Georgia's electoral vote for President had been angrily challenged when Congress made up the count. Georgia's Supreme Court had by this time decided that such expulsion was illegal, and gladly now would the Conservatives of that State accept that decision and register the legislature as before. But to Bullock, the radical governor chosen at the polls, this was not enough; and upon his complaint, confirmed by General Terry, the military commander, that negroes were oppressed, outraged and murdered in Georgia, Congress passed promptly an act, which ordered Georgia's legislature reorganized at once so as to include men of color, and gave the President power expressly to employ military force for executing this mandate. Stretching his own military authority to the utmost, though apparently with President Grant's approval, Terry, not content with restoring the ousted negro members, expelled twenty-four Democrats besides, and filled their places with Republicans. This was what Bullock wanted to establish his own control. With a legislative body now clearly of his own party complexion by the added purgation he carried out his purposes with confidence. The XVth Amendment was promptly adopted by the legislature and two Senators of the desired stripe were chosen to Congress.¹ Nor was this enough for accomplishment; for lobbying and pushing at Washington to keep his corrupt tyranny secure, this governor contrived that a bill for Georgia's full reinstatement should be reported from Butler's reconstruction committee which among other "fundamental conditions" prolonged this miscomposed legislature for an additional term of two years, in utter defiance of the State constitu-

¹ VI. Rhodes, 288, 289; Act Dec. 22, 1869.

on that dishonest proposition Bingham opposed in the House, while Trumbull and Edmands concurred in the Senate; and the bill, as it finally passed both Houses, recognized the right of voters in the South to hold their prescribed election for a new legislature in November. It also declared that States not yet admitted to be represented in Congress.¹

On March 30, 1870, President Grant sent a special message to Congress, stating that the XVth Amendment had now been ratified by three-fourths of the United States and was therefore a part of the Constitution. Great popular rejoicings ensued throughout the South, and among celebrations by colored people at Charleston that at Philadelphia held prominence, where Frederick Douglass spoke, the most eloquent orator in those times for the liberated race.² Later experience has shown that, notwithstanding the express authority conferred by Congress under this Amendment to enforce its provisions against any attempted evasion or denial of the right of civility in the suffrage of a State, a practical



disgrace of the whole country, as well as the ruination of the States concerned. Democrats consequently aided moderates of the Republican faith in developing a better generosity of treatment toward those conquered in fight, whatever might be the political result. Sumner's influence in the Senate was obviously waning, and only such as he among radical counsellors could disinfect a malodorous programme of party tyranny which promised an incidental advantage to the negro. The unsavory Bullock, balked now by Congress, made a desperate effort within his State to keep the purged legislature and himself in power, and his audacity aroused the best citizens of that commonwealth to combine strenuously for his overthrow. An election law was passed by that legislature which gave to the Bullock party its strongest chance of winning. But Benjamin H. Hill, a leading Georgian of other days, called upon President Grant and gained his countenance to the cause of good government; then throwing himself into the State canvass with zeal and energy, he appealed to all voters, black as well as white, to choose honest men of either race to the new legislature, pledging friends of his own complexion to a generous acceptance of the constitutional amendments, with negro suffrage as an accomplished fact. The event proved his wisdom; negroes themselves, won by such fraternal expressions, voted in large numbers the Conservative ticket, deserting their scalawag allies to aid in a common rescue of their own beloved State from misrule. A sweeping victory was won in December, with two-thirds of the next legislature Conservatives and five out of seven Congressmen.¹ That happy regeneration was followed, a year later, by the choice of a Democratic governor to succeed Bullock. By January, 1872, Georgia reached at last the broad highway of home rule, to be thenceforth unmolested.²

¹ Georgia's Senators and Representatives were admitted to Congress in January and February, 1871. VI. Rhodes, 302.

² VI. Rhodes, 297-302.

1871 opened with four ex-Confederate States
emerged from the strangling misrule of plunder
ption—Tennessee, Virginia, North Caro-
orgia; and these were joined in decent self-
by other suffering commonwealths of the
er opportunity was found to shake off the Con-
oke from their necks. Despite the national
that suffering section which the Republican
till for many years to dispense without hin-
gony of those few years of wholesale spoliation
to its lasting discredit. All hope of dissolving
ts of old political sects in triumphant Union-
ism now disappeared; and in the end the same
parties as before the War confronted one
th Northern Democrats well assured of a
ance with the solid South, by ties of gratitude.
bribe-taking and extortionate taxation to sup-
quer drained by criminal waste and extrava-
condemn any rule by nominal sovereigns
le where the spirit of liberty is not wholly
and, sooner or later, honest intelligence



who meddled with them, and they who would have converted sinners, the sinners themselves converted.

As for the negro he proved himself an apt and ready pupil; not of course in the higher range of official rank and authority, but for petty stealing, swag and the sale of vote and influence. Naturally enough, he yielded to the tuition and example of such new friends from without, and welcomed those of the white race who had been his emancipators. Affectionate, still, towards "old massa," whom he would consult readily upon his private affairs, he felt bound to go against him when it came to politics. Lazy and idle, in his new-found freedom, disposed to take a respite from toil and to shift from place to place, politics pleased him for he got money easily out of it. It was not so much in promiscuous voting, however, as in promiscuous office-holding that this unschooled child of freedom seemed absurdly out of place and ridiculous.¹

Such travesty upon political equality which was entailing ruin and chaos in their midst led many intelligent whites in these States to attempt a reassertion of rule by suppressing that negro vote which they could not win over fairly and had not the means to purchase. The "Ku-Klux-Klan," so styled, proved a potent agency for such a policy in disordered communities where secret guile might be matched against the Federal soldiery. Started in 1866 by some mischievous and high-spirited youths of Tennessee, this mysterious order spread its baneful influence into neighboring States more truly miserable, organizing "dens" and multiplying its members rapidly. Ex-Confederates who had fought and the native element still proscribed by Congress sympathized with such a league, while

¹ A South Carolina catch of the day expressed well the average negro sentiment as to politics:

"De bottom rail am on de top,
And we's gwinter keep it dar."

See at length VI. Rhodes, cs. 34 and 37; I. Andrews's *Last Quarter Century*, c. 5.

were arrayed the negroes themselves and white men, their political allies.¹

The "Klan" most active understood well the negro and knew how to play upon the credulity and superstitious fears of these simple freedmen. Mounted on horses whose feet were muffled, and wearing tall black boards, masks and long white robes, they rode in a company to threaten and terrify the humble negro. One of them, holding a sham head under his arm, introduced himself to the trembling occupants of the plantation as the ghost of some white master who had been shot in the South before. Another, who had equipped himself with a rubber bag concealed from sight, called for water and seemed to drink its contents at a gulp. Then by moonlight would follow threats and a menacing display of crossed swords, skull and crossbones, and the visible emblems "K. K. K." More and more grew such outrages with the increasing desire for suppression. The moral of all such warnings was that the negro must keep to industrial labor and let alone the white man. Colored persons especially obnoxious



Closely following the adoption of the XVth Amendment, Congress had in 1870 with full party assent, passed a stringent election act, which empowered any and all citizens hindered in voting by fraud, intimidation or violence, or by any misuse of official power, to bring the offender to trial and criminal punishment by a court of the United States. But, five years later, the Supreme Court pronounced such provisions unconstitutional, since primary recourse should still be had to each State, while the province of the Federal government was to see, not that individuals but that States enforced equality of suffrage before the law.¹

In further pursuance of the express constitutional power given Congress to enforce the two new Amendments, a Federal election law was enacted in 1871, whose main intent was to protect negro voters at the South in the exercise of an equal suffrage. All elections for Congress were placed under strict Federal control, with local supervisors at the polls to be appointed by United States judges and authority vested in United States marshals to employ special deputies should need arise.²

One section of the Act of 1870 aimed at the suppression of the Ku-Klux-Klan; and the forty-second Congress, whose first session began in March, 1871, was largely occupied in discussing those outrages. The President sent to the two Houses an early message on the subject, recommending stringent legislation, and in response a measure was passed, known commonly as the "Ku-Klux Act," which conferred large discretionary powers upon the Executive for the summary suppression of all such lawless combinations by military force or otherwise.³ Grant used with wisdom his dictatorial authority. In one instance only, where in nine counties of South Carolina

¹ Act May 31, 1870; VI. Rhodes, 293-296; 92 U. S. Reports, 214.

² Since State elections would usually take place on the same day, the freedman thus protected gained incidental security in voting for governor and members of the legislature. Act Feb. 28, 1871; VI. Rhodes, 312.

³ Act April 20, 1871; VI. Rhodes, 312, 313.

was still rampant, he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* and made military arrests of the ringleaders. *Ex parte* and prosecutions followed with criminal

In other States the offending marauders were detected and tried in the Federal courts and convicted. The effect of such vigorous procedure was wholly salutary, and the year 1872 opened with the Ku-Klux raids brought substantially to an end.

That same year saw a new Presidential campaign and fought out at the polls; and, naturally, party Democrats and party Republicans differed as to the extent of outrages actually committed against the negroes, on the one hand, and their own responsibility on the other.¹

Looking back now, through the calm vista of forty years, upon this unhappy era of Southern chaos and distraction, it is clear that negro suffrage has well-nigh vanished from the reconstructed States and with it the negro's vote, so esteemed so precious to him, of sharing in re-

seventy per cent can now do so; many thousand negro farmers at the South, formerly tenants, till their own land, and colored men of means and pecuniary independence abound in every State once wedded to slave institutions.¹

Though one cannot but wish that more of the ex-Confederate leaders had appealed sympathetically to brethren of this race, like Hill, to join in establishing an honest home rule for all,² the ground taken by Governor Andrew of Massachusetts in 1866 appears the true one for Congress to have applied during the era we are describing: namely, to summon the natural leaders of these States to co-operate in renovation, instead of proscribing them.³ That generous-hearted Executive died before Grant came into the Presidential office. Had Northern leaders who combined such a belief with the wish for full negro suffrage of which he partook, conducted the invidious task of reconstruction, many political mistakes would have been avoided. The negro, if he permanently remains in the United States as a factor in our population, while advancing in knowledge, wealth and personal character, will some day feel strong enough to push on his own behalf, wherever resident, for a local grant of equal suffrage, and will establish his right to do so. And so may our XVth Amendment, now looked up to by the heart-sick like the brazen serpent in the wilderness, prove in every State its healing and health-giving properties, through gradual and salutary stages of recognition, if not indiscriminately and at once.

✓ SECTION IV. *This section not in Charles*

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. 7

To President Grant's interest and encouragement, with that of the District committees of both Houses of Con-

¹ Booker T. Washington in Boston Herald, March 22, 1912. And see James H. Dillard (1913). Various white residents at the South (1913) confirm all this by statistics.

² *Supra*, p. 173.

³ Valedictory address to Massachusetts legislature.

this administration, is largely due the inexpressible progress and development which has since transformed the shabby and poverty-stricken Washington, with its Georgetown annex—the District of Columbia—into a superb and prosperous city, faithful to the original plans and doubly endeared to the American people by its associations.

Washington city in 1869 wore much the same slovenly aspect as during the four memorable years of fraternal strife. Except that the clank of cavalry riders and the rumbling of wagons and baggage trains through unpaved streets had ceased, and civilian sight-seers trod the broad brick sidewalks without meeting sentinels in military blue, wearing shoulder-straps, caped and slouching black felt hats. There was the same stretch of incongruous stores and dwellings mingled with the noble and substantial buildings of the Government, the same mingling of costly architecture with the cheap and feeble. Unchanged stood that one magnificent white building, or rather aggregation of

saloons, with red curtains drawn, where "steamed oysters" was the toothsome delicacy. City newspapers made conspicuous advertisement of the feminine dealer in "first-class second-hand garments," and of "uncles," too, one of whom styled himself "the only Christian pawnbroker in the District."

The retail wants of a considerable population, genteel or scrimping, were here supplied; but there was no manufacturing industry of consequence, no wholesale trade, no commerce, hardly a decent respect for business enterprise of any kind. A few residents of means lived well and entertained, but more were dependent upon precarious government salaries; and both they who entertained and they who partook inclined to live much beyond their means. In compact red-bricked Georgetown dwelt a refined social set, much as in Alexandria, which maintained a select choral society. Its front street was commercial and smelled of dried herrings, but on the picturesque heights behind, near the flow of Rock Creek, a beautiful cemetery was laid out.

Large numbers of the emancipated race resided in this Federal District, many of whom had been born here in bondage. Negroes of character and intelligence were among them, who lived wholesomely, earned a good support, and attended, many of them, a church of their own race planted in the most fashionable quarter of Washington. Janitors and messengers in the public buildings were thus supplied; waiters in the hotels and boarding-houses; men who ran shaving parlors and tonsorial emporiums or conducted various small industries, emulous of some high-sounding title.¹ But large numbers of lazy and ragged brethren had drifted hither from the south side of the Potomac; such as might be seen drowsing in the

¹ A sign near City Hall read: "The colord stock company; manufactors of tobacco and to imploy colord men to work." Some good old negro would make a respectable figurehead for institutions like the Freedman's Savings Bank, to attract customers of his race, while a white executive committee handled and speculated with the funds. Author's recollections.

galleries on Capitol Hill, where none dared
or sunning themselves in tattered groups
steps of City Hall. With so varying a crowd
mitted liberally to the suffrage, District politics
a downward course, until to arrest corrup-
kers and business men of Washington city
good citizens, raising an appropriate fund,
mayor of their own number, Matthew G.
lding office long enough to usher in some
mes for District government, Emery was the
uler in Washington ever chosen to this day
e voters; and a rule of indiscriminate suf-
t good enough to impose upon distant ex-
States in perpetuity, Congress now abandoned
sults plainly appeared before its own eyes.¹

been agitation of late for moving the nation's
its Potomac site. St. Louis had many advo-
new seat of government, being near the

in March, 1869, under a joint resolution. And by early 1870 legislation for improving the conditions of the District began in earnest.

New statutes passed Congress which modernized the law in this jurisdiction hitherto neglected, where much of Maryland's old colonial code continued in force, which Maryland herself had changed within her remaining confines. A married woman's property act brought District policy into harmony with that of the States on that subject. Deeds, which hitherto required acknowledgment before two justices of the peace, might henceforth be acknowledged before one only. The old usury laws, long evaded under one device or another, were so amended that, with six per cent still the legal rate of interest, special contract might carry it to ten per cent. Provision was made for the creation of District corporations by general law, for learning, religion and charity, and, for business purposes, various special charters being granted besides.¹ The Supreme Court of the District was reorganized and a police court added. Improved methods were prescribed for the assessment of taxes. Temporary relief was provided for the poor. Municipal authority was given to set apart portions of the broad streets and avenues for parks, and adorn with shade trees; and as a crowning beneficence, Congress made provision for paving Pennsylvania Avenue from the north-western gate of the capitol to the Treasury building, the cost to be defrayed in part by a national appropriation, with further assessment upon the abutting owners.²

Under the last-mentioned act Congress now entered fairly upon a policy, long deferred, of aiding this impecunious District in its annual needs and lending the nation's credit to its fit development. In the course of an-

¹ Among corporations specially chartered by Congress in 1870 were the Washington market, with a new central market house; the Columbia Street Railway; the Corcoran Art Gallery; and a Zoological Society.

² 1 U. S. Stats. 1870, *passim*.

by appropriations were added; for beautifying
are and a circle near by, at the intersection
etts and Vermont avenues; for cutting a
the White House grounds; for constructing
across the old canal; for improving various
tions; and for putting an iron fence about
are.¹

and the digging and carting away begun in
of the city, to introduce something like a
in the street system. Dwelling houses at
whose front steps had been close hitherto
lk, were now left high in air, so that new
ps and new grassy slopes became needful
to reach the burrowed level of the street
the grand municipal work of these months,
mission supervised, composed of the mayor
the army, was that of paving the processional
nsylvania Avenue. With the completion
taking dawned a new era in the annals of



Congress for its routine of business found but a slim attendance in either House; and every one wished to be out of doors to see the sights. For over a mile, from the capitol grounds to the Treasury building where the road turns, Pennsylvania Avenue was lined with eager spectators, on sidewalks, balconies and improvised stands; its jagged buildings adorned on either side with pictures, streamers and evergreens; and its new and conspicuous wooden pavement stretching broadly from curb to curb for the whole length, like some immense ball-room floor. Traversing this pavement, in course of the day, came horse races, a foot race, and a grand improvised parade of teams, showy or simple, from the six-in-hand vehicle which proclaimed Helmbold's Buchu to plain butcher drays and dog carts. By night the Avenue was brilliantly lit up with gas jets and Chinese lanterns; electricity had not yet been utilized for illumination, but strong calcium burners cast searching rays at intervals. Fireworks were touched off at the Treasury portico. The great feature of the night's festivities was a ball given in the Corcoran Art Gallery which public notables, from the President down, attended, together with the prime beauty and fashion congregated in the city.¹

On Tuesday, the 21st, there was a bizarre masquerade procession on the Avenue, led by the "lord of misrule" and his "mystic krewe." Prominent in the burlesque array figured the would-be movers of the capital, carpet-baggers, and insistent champions of women's rights. Though this day's weather was cold, raw and damp, spectators turned out in force as on the day before. At night the whole paved area was ablaze with bursting bombs and rockets, while sidewalks were packed with people of all sorts, in search of jollity. Two masked balls progressed apart in the city, both visited by the President to give *éclat*, but neither so select as that of Monday night.

This finished the frolicsome gayety of the celebration; for the 22d, or Washington's birthday, fell this year on

¹ Newspapers; author's recollections.

day, when church people began the observance of the religious season, and social festivities at the capital came abruptly to an end. But at the new Arlington the city government gave in the evening a reception to the press and prominent visitors. And thus followed a three days' Carnival, unique in character and not likely to be soon repeated, which drew large numbers of spectators or took part in its lively interest, and was well recalled with pleasure.¹

The festive effervescence was meant to usher in some-thing new for the nation's metropolis than any mere improvement whose cost was shared from the treasury. With expansion of outlay for improvements went an expanded scheme of government, and to such a scheme Congress committed itself by an act which President Johnson vetoed on the second day of the Carnival. The District of Columbia was reorganized under a

from the first; a man whose dominating activity and force of character had at once appeared in the board of public works for the District to which the President first appointed him. Under Shepherd's strong sway the work of metropolitan improvement was pushed forward with zeal and energy, regardless of financial resources. Streets were rapidly torn up, paved and regraded. Lots already built upon were left far above or far below the new level, as might happen. Much real estate originally valuable was injured irreparably or taxed beyond its worth, under an arbitrary scheme of "improvements," while elsewhere a valuation would be greatly enhanced. Under public contracts awarded to one rival concern or another, miles of wooden and asphalt pavement were laid out in broad patches, while the whole city by day or night, was redolent of burning tar. Costly drainage and sewage systems were started. In all this Shepherd showed himself not only masterful but wilful, despotic and possibly malicious.¹ But his conduct of affairs appears to have been free from the usual accompaniment of personal greed and graft; the zeal he displayed was, likely enough, unselfish and for the public good; and however censurable his methods, he roused Washington's inhabitants from their long lethargy and indolence and set this capital city on the new progressive career which has since made it a national abode for our people to be proud of. *

Yet a local government of the present magnitude was too costly and cumbersome to last. With a population numbering for the whole District scarcely more than 140,000 inhabitants, by no means wealthy, a territorial debt piled up speedily of about \$13,000,000 with direct assessments, payable at once, on two or three millions more.² The territorial legislature, and more especially its

¹ The Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, just opened for business, received special favors in locating tracks and depot; while its rival, the old Baltimore and Ohio road, found passenger stations and terminals sunk so far below the new street level that changes of construction became needful.

² N. Y. Nation, Nov. 21, 1872.

*But see Senate Report to 42 Cong., 1st S., No. 453.
Hear. Jan. 24-5.*

Samuel A. R. Shepherd²

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

CHAP. II.

delegates chosen by the voters and made up of white and black, did its full share in bringing the government into bankruptcy and disgrace. It was guilty of those acts which Congress had to repudiate.¹ It was paid with pay and such petty emoluments as were given, and stationery, disreputable members were sent on adjournment carrying off chairs and other portable furniture for home adornment.²

It must be confessed, however, that by this time the government had made itself fairly liable for the freaks and follies of its only child; and hence a great point had been reached, under the Shepherd rule, in saddling these liabilities upon the general government and compelling it henceforth to contribute, as well as control, in the beautifying of the capital. To such a conclusion the Reconstruction Congress arrived; and in 1874 an act was passed which completely abolished this territorial monstrosity, the House of Representatives, and all, substituting a simple metropolitan legislature by a commission of three, all of whom should be appointed by the President, an army officer of the grade of major being also detailed to take charge of local administration.

The strong impulse now given to beautifying and building up the capital under the sheltering wing of the nation induced citizens of wealth and leisure in the North and West to build presently and invest here, making Washington their permanent home. Many in official life pursued a like course, together with local benefactors like Corcoran, bankers, and men of liberal professions. The British government set an early example abroad by erecting here an ample mansion for its minister to occupy. A huge public structure of granite, begun in 1871, to accommodate the War, Navy and State departments, loomed up on the Executive grounds, with mansard roof and heavy windows and balustrades, after the architectural fashion of the day. And a new feature of park adornment was introduced, of questionable taste, in naming circles after Union heroes of the Civil War, already dead, whose friends had influence to provide funds, public or private or both, for some bronze statue where broad avenues intersected. To Jackson in Lafayette Square, on prancing war horse, the sedately mounted Washington near Georgetown's boundary, and Scott, likewise on horseback, surveying the capital city from a steep ledge of Cape Ann granite, were now added Macpherson, Farragut, Thomas, and, through Grant's special favor, Rawlins, little known to fame. For famous Americans without condemned cannon to be recast to their credit, there was little show; and for Southern Confederate heroes, none at all.

Ford's Theatre, after the tragedy of Lincoln's assassination, had been taken over by government for purposes of its own, leaving the old National as the only present theatre of consequence for the usual winter variety of circus, opera and star dramatic troupes. But for public halls two newly erected buildings offered much convenience on the line of Ninth street. In Lincoln Hall, at the top of the Young Men's Christian Association building, assembled audiences for a performance of "Elijah" by a Georgetown oratorio society, or a reading by the graceful Mrs. Scott Siddons, or a Theodore Thomas concert,

ctor, then of rising renown, would supple-
Symphonic Poem by some Strauss waltz, con-
nonchalance, resisting all encores save for
Traumerei, placed in the programme for
strangers at the capital and those figuring in
society were no great patrons of such caterers
tion; for the whirl of social receptions and
called for expenditures in other ways, while
combats on Capitol Hill might be witnessed

ies of Masonic Hall were for an unseated
d here, March 5, 1872, a memorable reception
government to the visiting Japanese Embassy.
the botanical garden, arranged in pyramids or
ended in baskets of moss, sent out a delicious
me, accompanied by the tuneful warbling of
ge and brilliant company of both sexes was in
representing every class of Washington
al and unofficial; and Vice-President Colfax



hospitalities at San Francisco and other cities on the way reached Washington in early March. On the 4th they were formally received by President Grant at the White House, under the escort of Secretary Fish. Iwakura, as their spokesman and chief, an intimate attendant on the Emperor, made a speech through an interpreter, after credentials had been presented, and the President responded. An introduction to the cabinet officers and their ladies followed.

Congress had prepared itself for these visitors; and following the entertainment at Masonic Temple, the House of Representatives, March 6, held a formal reception in their honor; a distinction never before accorded, except to Lafayette, Kossuth and a Chinese embassy which Minister Burlingame had brought over, a few years earlier. With our native curiosity and interest aroused to a high pitch of demonstration a terrible crush and crowd appeared in the galleries of the Representatives' chamber, while on the floor a bevy of favored men and women mingled with members, some standing on chairs and desks. Speaker Blaine delivered an address of welcome, to which Iwakura, in his chanting and melodious sing-song, responded, translations being interchanged. By this time the little Orientals were so pressed upon by spectators—somewhat after Gulliver's Brobdingnagian experience—that they seemed uncertain as to whom their bows should be directed, when Banks, who piloted as the House chairman of Foreign Relations, announced their names in a sonorous voice. After the ceremonies had ended a lane was opened through the crowd and under a strong escort the royal tourists filed out, many spectators hustling after and following them to their carriages. Congress, in an excess of good nature had been careless about preserving a dignity over the arrangements.¹

In view of Japan's later advance as a world's power, its Mikado's wonderful adaptiveness to western methods during a long and eventful reign, and the closer intercourse with America which presently followed, this tour has a last-

¹ Author's recollections; newspapers.

ance; though, at the time, most of us thought it a fine show. The quickness of this vivacious observation and apprehend was noticeable while in Washington, as in their later journeying to Canada. At the White-House reception of the embassy wore the native court costume, the underskirts, wide black overskirts and sundry dresses; but at the Masonic Hall, the next night, they wore American full dress. Congress had appropriated for their visit and an army general was detailed in charge of them. They were alert in learning the new ways of things and comparing their own experiences; they would exchange quarters, from one hotel to another; they tested American favorites one being ice cream thickened with hard cream.¹ In every direction the desire of this remarkable race to learn and profit by the ideas and customs of civilized people and civilized society in the world appeared strongly in evidence.



training of female practitioners for the professions of law and medicine, found earnest advocates.

The advancement of woman becomes complicated and perplexing from such novel points of view. Where women outnumber, as in Great Britain and some of our older States, men do not willingly resign the sceptre of masculine authority, such as nature exhibits in the brute animal kingdom. Fortunately for this Union, suffrage and the ballot remain State and not national issues. But the short cut was attempted in January, 1872, when the National Woman's Suffrage Convention met in Lincoln Hall. It was claimed that under the XIVth and XVth Amendments to the Constitution woman was already entitled to vote throughout the Union. A memorial to that effect was laid before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and argument made, but in vain. The right of women to practice in the Supreme Court was also sought.

Extravagant demonstrations and excess of excitement set back the cause of women's rights in politics from time to time, notwithstanding a gradual advance in the direction desired and persisted in. In these early years the general sense of womanly propriety was offended by the eccentricities of two sisters who gained much notoriety together in the newspapers. They proclaimed their social freedom, set up a Wall street brokerage in partnership, issued a weekly newspaper with a *double entendre* motto, and forced their own leadership upon the would-be suffragettes of the nation, sorely against the wishes of the more conservative of their sex who participated in the movement. One of them proposed herself as female candidate for the next Presidency, and, when scandal was discovered and pointed out in her marital relation, retorted that men do not regard in politics the domestic life of their nominees. The present movement seems to have culminated in the Presidential elections of November, 1872, where some leaders of the cause in New York State actually voted at the polls, and suffered arrest for it.¹

¹ Harper's Magazine, January, 1873; newspapers, 1872.

SECTION V.

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

st achievement of Grant's two administrations
airs, at least, was in procuring a reconciling
Great Britain, and under it a full indemnity
edations committed upon our commerce by
cruisers built, fitted out or sheltered in British
ation of a just neutrality. For this the honor
e to Secretary Fish, to whom the President
ons.

s Francis Adams wrote from Massachusetts,
enate's emphatic rejection of the Johnson-
ndon treaty and Sumner's rhetorical speech
figured up a preposterous bill of damages for
national misconduct,¹ the practical effect, on
s to raise the scale of reparation demanded

mote joint negotiations at Washington for a friendly adjustment.¹

Such pacifying efforts were slow in producing effect. British animosity was great against the exposition of grievances in the American Senate, while on our own side, Sumner's estimate of damages encouraged a popular belief that by a speedy cession of the Canadas to the United States the bill would be settled, England withdrawing finally from this hemisphere as Russia had done. President Grant himself partook strongly of the rising sentiment here, increased by Fenian disturbances, that the British Dominions north of us ought to join this Union. But when Fish tested such an acquisition with Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, while negotiation halted in other respects, that minister, announcing himself as fair and friendly to the scheme, declared that Canada herself did not wish a separation and the mother country could not inaugurate her departure.² By November, 1870, Canada was wisely dropped out of discussion, while in the course of amicable interviews our Secretary made it known that if some practical settlement of the claims justly due from 1870. Great Britain were reached, an expression of her regret would be an acceptable preface, with nothing further by way of that public apology which our people seemed to think was due them.³

Meanwhile the Franco-German war had broken out in Europe and England dreaded lest she might be drawn into the conflict, in which case the maritime precedents

¹ That Fish's own disposition was friendly and pacific appears from a private letter which he wrote in September, to the effect that he would not, if he could, impose humiliating conditions on Great Britain or try to threaten her. He would consider it the greatest glory and happiness of his life, as well as the greatest benefit to his own country, could he only effect a just settlement while he remained in office. Treaty of Washington, 125, 126. And see VI. Rhodes, 341-344.

² Treaty of Washington, 157-162; VI. Rhodes, 354-356. ³ *Ib.*

War, as matters now stood, were sure to be her and the ocean (as Thornton expressed harm with Alabamas." Taking advantage of the situation Secretary Fish drafted a speech the President embodied in his opening message to Congress, December, 1870, censuring Grant's dilatoriness in coming to terms, and proposing that our government should itself examine and redress the claims of its citizens against the South and take the full public ownership and to procure a settlement.

Grant's plain-spoken, as though Grant imposed it, had a salutary effect abroad and its purpose somewhat like Jackson's breezy diplomatic announcement to France and England, in 1834, under similar provocation of the French.

On January 9, 1871, just five weeks after the message had been delivered, Rose reached Washington and in the evening dined with Secretary Fish. The dinner talk of the two resulted in a memorandum which Rose carefully formulated

to co-operate in the delicate and momentous business now to be entered upon. An interview was therefore arranged, through a friendly member, which took place at Sumner's own house on the 15th of January. Sumner's manner was ungracious, and as a result of the consultation he sent to the Secretary, after due reflection, a memorandum of his opinion, which stated, as an indispensable condition of such a treaty, that the withdrawal of the British flag ought to be insisted upon. "To make the settlement complete," he wrote, "the withdrawal should be from this hemisphere, including provinces and islands."¹

This amazing proposition indicates either that Sumner was unaware of what our Secretary had attempted over Canada already, or that sentiment had captured his good sense, or that he wished to block the present business altogether. The third inference was the natural one; and hence Fish bent his efforts to persuade other Republican Senators of influence, besides fair-minded Democrats, to lend their efforts for counteracting any opposition on his part, should a treaty be sent in for confirmation. Meanwhile, by February 1st, arrangements were concluded with the aid of the Atlantic cable whereby the Alabama claims and all other differences between the United States and Great Britain were to be submitted to a Joint High Commission which should meet at Washington.²

The Joint High Commission opened sessions at our Capital on the 27th of February, 1871. Its five British members were: Earl de Gray and Ripon, one of Gladstone's cabinet, Sir Stafford Northcote, a ^{1871.}Feb.-May. Conservative, Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, Professor Mountague Bernard of Oxford University, and Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of Canada. The American members were: Secretary Fish, Justice Samuel Nelson of the Supreme Court, Hoar, the late Attorney General, Robert C. Schenck, the minister

¹ Treaty of Washington, 145-147; VI. Rhodes, 358.

² *Ib.*, 176-178; VI. Rhodes, 357, 358.

upon to succeed Motley at London, and George H. Williams of Oregon. It was a congenial and colleagues on the best of mutual terms, and whether British or American, anxious that fit should be reached. Dinner parties, dances, and a unique Virginia fox hunt, blended with the serious occupation of the Commission; whose treaty reached on the 8th of May, was embodied in the "Treaty of Washington." That treaty settled various questions of trade and navigation between Canada and the United States, but its more immediate provisions related to the Alabama claims. With a simple regret, Her Majesty's government in friendly relations with the escape of Confederate vessels from British ports, and the depredations they afterwards committed, were referred to a Tribunal of five arbitrators, whose meeting should be held at Geneva. The treaty was to be held binding hereafter and applied in the present controversy, pledged neutral powers in a time of war to use due diligence as



The Treaty of Washington having been duly signed and found acceptable to Great Britain, the task remained of procuring its confirmation by at least a two-thirds vote in the Senate of the United States. This was duly obtained, in a special session of the Senate convened in May. ^{May-}Not only did the Committee on Foreign Relations, ^{July.}as reconstituted with Cameron as chairman, report favorably, but the Senate confirmed, May 24, by the ample margin of 50 to 12.¹ Sumner himself, whose mortifying deposition had occurred while the Joint High Commission was in session,² voted with the majority of that body, despite misgivings; whether because conciliated and won over by the sedulous efforts which were made by British members of the Commission and personal friends to flatter and soothe his wounded pride, or, as seems more just to him, because, in truth, he thought the treaty worth accepting in its final shape, and viewed his duty as a statesman should.³ Appeal was made to patriotic sentiment, British and American; our Senate confirmed on the anniversary of Queen Victoria's birth; ratifications were exchanged in London on Bunker-Hill day, June 17; and President Grant made proclamation on the 4th of July that the treaty had gone into full effect. These coincidences of date were not wholly casual.

For the Geneva proceedings which duly followed, Great Britain appointed Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn arbitrator for that government; and the United States correspondingly, Charles Francis Adams. The three neutral arbitrators, named by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation and the Emperor of

¹ The treaty was sent to the Senate May 10, 1871.

² *Supra*, p. 168.

³ A hearty hater," says Mr. Adams truly, "and unsparing of denunciation, he hated and denounced on public grounds only; his standards were invariably high, and he was ever actuated by a strong sense of obligation." Treaty of Washington, 187. To President Grant, however, and Secretary Fish, Sumner was never reconciled. *Ib.* See VI. Rhodes, 362, 364.

ively, were Count Sclopis, Jacques Staempfli (or Baron) d'Itajuba. Lord Tenterden was present, with Sir Roundell Palmer for counsel. Davis, lately our assistant Secretary of State and in the British Government's confidence, served for the United States, with M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing and Morrison R. Davis for counsel. The Tribunal opened its session at Geneva, December 15, 1871; Sclopis being president. Agents for the contesting governments appeared in this case; and with an order that the counterclaim be heard by April 15, 1872, the Tribunal adjourned on the 15th of June following.¹

Under the Treaty of Washington the British ministry had already what it most desired in the adoption of rules of neutrality for the future which were suggested by the Franco-Prussian war—a conflict of arms threatening its climax without involving other powers as feared at first. But what our own Government had most at heart—reparation for the ocean vessels committed under British dereliction



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Whatever may have been Davis's motive in asserting claims too broad to have been admissible, as counsel for the plaintiff, Chief Justice Cockburn's anger over that assertion was manifest at once and the British press and public made such wrathful protest over America's unexpected demand that the Gladstone ministry came near an overthrow in Parliament, with the utter wreck of the Geneva Tribunal as a sure consequence. Fortunately, at this crisis America had in Charles Francis Adams an arbitrator, judicious, sensible, and better informed of the real merits of the case than anyone else at Geneva. Influenced by his counsel and upon Gladstone's direct proposal our Senate amended the Treaty so as to waive all claims for "indirect losses" before the Tribunal; and the new expression being thought somewhat vague, Adams, with Justice Cockburn's concurrence,¹ led the Tribunal to make a formal announcement, June 19, that claims for indirect damages would be ruled out of consideration. Upon that announcement the case proceeded and the evidence was submitted; and on the 20th of September a gross sum, amounting to \$15,500,000, was awarded to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for damages committed upon our commerce by the *Florida*, *Alabama* and *Shenandoah*, in consequence of England's failure to exercise due diligence for the enforcement of her neutrality. This sum in gold the British government paid over to the United States without further contention, in honorable acceptance of an arbitrament to which it had stood pledged. The hero of that Tribunal was Charles Francis Adams, as Mr. Rhodes has well observed; and the laurel thus won

indiscreet assertion to make; but to prove or disprove the British ministry's motive here was not easy. It should be borne in mind, however, that England's belligerent attitude was in pursuance of a joint understanding with France, whose Emperor certainly had an unfriendly purpose.

¹ But Cockburn, well known upon the English bench as a headstrong though capable judge, dissented from the award as finally made and refused to sign with the arbitrators.

announced the last and choicest of his whole illustration of national service, since reparation here meant vindication and triumph to the fullest extent.¹

SECTION VI.

REPUBLICAN PARTY DISSENSIONS.

ers of Grant's first term, to the high meridian, to dispel the illusions of expectancy which had been his sunrise. The far-famed hero of so many battles was seen to be, in civil life, much like the average man, in tastes, pursuits, and general qualifications for public supremacy. He had already proved a disappointment in the Presidency. "The wreck of General Grant's fame," wrote a prominent man in 1870, "is a national misfortune. That fame was a national possession, and it was the best people of the country, those whom he is now repudiating or refusing to honor, who built it up by giving him a hearty and un-



of the public welfare and because Grant leaned heavily upon his social importance as an asset he could not afford to part with.

Fish earned and fully deserved the personal respect and friendship of his chief. But two other strong men of the earliest council, also well deserving, Hoar and Cox, were less fortunate. Each of these found him-^{1870.}self forced out before the autumn of 1870 had ended, for causes by no means creditable to his chief.

Hoar's displacement came first in order, during the month of June. Without warning or giving reasons of any kind, the President, one day, in a letter delivered by a White House messenger, asked formally the Attorney General's resignation; and Hoar, not to be outdone in curtness or mystery, sent back a brief letter of compliance. That Grant meant by this no discipline or withdrawal of his confidence seems assured by the fact that, a few months later, Hoar was one of those selected to serve upon the Joint High Commission.¹ The official change was probably an incident of Grant's baleful effort to crowd his San Domingo purchase at this time through a reluctant Senate.² Some carpet-bag members of that body from Southern States whose support was desired, asked in return a Southern representative in the cabinet; and hence Amos T. Akerman of Georgia was taken to supplant E. Rockwood Hoar as Attorney General. Akerman was a lawyer of good local reputation and personal qualities, but with no national standing in his profession. He occupied the place for about a year and then modestly retired, as little known to the country as when he assumed his official duties. It is true that, with Boutwell added to Judge Hoar when this administration took up its task in earnest, Massachusetts had two members in the cabinet, for which reason Hoar had given the President to understand that his resignation would be forthcoming when desired. True, also, the appointment

¹ *Supra*, p. 197.

² *Supra*, p. 164.

July 8, 1870
Jan. 9, 1871

Stanton to the Supreme Court, was meant to embarrass upon that point. Hoar, however, had made himself so unpopular with the Senate that he was not confirmed; and one reason was that, for the Court Judges authorized by statute, he had selected the best men he could find regardless of party or the preference of Senators. The President's expert report had accepted the list, which, so good that the Senate could not oppose it; but those who were piqued combined to reject Hoar's appointment which soon followed.¹ This son of old, it must be confessed, was wanting in tact and shrewdness of intercourse, and, though kind-hearted among friends and neighbors who understood him, he showed in his conversation a caustic quality which was less bright and apt at repartee than himself. In the atmosphere of this Washington life, where incidents constantly, whether of saints or sinners, could be seen, he might be polished or as rude as the buffalo in the presence, if not upon his own merits, at least

ness. Of Congressional mentors and spokesmen influential with the President, Conkling, Morton, Cameron and Chandler grew into prominence among Republican Senators, while, in the House, Butler became Grant's especial champion. All these were for a vigorous use of party patronage to win a party victory, and the President yielded much to their views and methods.¹

Of that Congressional clique, Roscoe Conkling was perhaps the most potent and promising; a man of great talent, though Morton, who had changed from conservative to radical in his reconstruction views, surpassed him in energy and decision of character.² A Senator from New York at this time, and in the prime of physical health and manhood, with reddish hair and a sandy complexion, he was vain, of handsome figure, highly attractive in manners when he chose to be, and fond of society. With decided ability and fair legal attainments in his favor, he had choice family connections besides, for his father had been a respected district judge of the United States with a wide social acquaintance and Governor Seymour was his brother-in-law. But there was a waywardness about him, a want of diligent application to things worthy of a statesman's study, and he showed himself in these years a sort of Alcibiades in public life. He was wont to sneer at civil service reform as "Sunday school politics," and a saying

¹ Butler got a scapegrace nephew appointed as consul-general to Egypt, whose dissolute behavior made there a diplomatic disgrace. Author's recollections.

² Oliver P. Morton had a remarkable record. As war governor of Indiana, prompt, vigorous and watchful, he was of inestimable service to the Union cause. He had a paralytic stroke in 1865, for which he sought treatment in Europe. Upon his return home in 1866 he made a powerful political speech and was sent in 1867 to the United States Senate, where he served for the rest of his life. Though unable to stand without a support while taking part in proceedings, his mental vigor was unimpaired and he showed himself for ten years a leader in debate and active in shaping public measures. A second stroke of paralysis caused his death in 1877, shortly after Grant's term of office had expired.

circulation that our people like best a states-
"a gamey flavor." Despite the excellent
ed of him in Congress, Conkling originated
orthy of him, but was chiefly bent upon fight-
the petty patronage of his empire State;
ambition which under a later President led,
own self-conceit, to his final political un-

ent time there were two rival factions among
ans dominant in New York State,—one led
and the other by Fenton, lately the governor
colleague in the Senate. Conkling induced
nt in 1870 to give the custom-house collector-
ort of New York to a henchman, "Tom"
reby supplanting Moses H. Grinnell, a re-
chant, who had been thought too slow in
the plums," though a good gatherer of the
urphy, a machine politician of vulgar in-
ad grown wealthy from public contracts and
rses and "good fellows," did as Conkling



places." Ex-Secretary Cox in a magazine article,¹ which opportunely appeared, pressed the same idea with the full weight of his recent official experience. The new proposal was to limit the Executive range of selection among candidates for the lesser offices of government and make examinations competitive in a genuine sense. Such was the purport of bills introduced in the House by Jenckes of Rhode Island—an early champion of reform who had just lost a re-election—and in the Senate by Carl Schurz. Neither measure passed; but, with the aid of Trumbull of the Senate a provision was inserted in one of the appropriation acts, near the close of this session, which empowered the President to appoint a Commission for regulating the whole subject. Of this the President availed himself; and with George William Curtis of New York as chairman, a citizen of literary fame and culture who felt much interest in this movement, the commission framed some excellent rules for placing the civil and consular service of the nation upon a basis of competitive merit, besides doing away with the mischief of political assessments upon the holders of office under government.²

When the 42d Congress began its long session in December, 1871, the President by special message announced his purpose to put these rules in force on the first of January ensuing and asked the support of Congress for carrying out the reforms projected. But Congressmen were not at heart favorable to the civil service reform, in those days; and members preferred to distribute party spoils as before. After a grudging appropriation or two for maintaining the "Advisory Board," as it was called, Congress ceased furnishing support altogether. Grant, whose effort seems to have been to ride two horses at once while a Presidential canvass was pending in 1872—for his closest advisers in the two Houses were strongly set against this business, together with Boutwell and others of cabinet prominence, while his own misuse of the patron-

¹ North American Review, Jan., 1871.

² Act March 3, 1871; VI. Rhodes, 387.

but little—failed to urge the reform after his and the Commission, whose members served without compensation, faded out as we shall see, with the next succeeding Congress. Grant had not of earnestness in this matter, and, though after its failure that he had given the experiment an honest trial, he never carried it heartily into effect, as he should have done, the Presidential appointment on meritorious considerations.¹

A feeble endeavor at reform in the patronage was, we may suppose, to disappointing results of the 1870 elections and his own growing anxiety to be re-elected in 1872. Though crude in his knowledge of the principles of government, indisposed to study, and with political opinions hastily and loosely held, he liked much to be President. The year 1871 began with his administration at discredit, it rose in popularity with the new British negotiation and the bright promise afforded by the Curtis Commission. Grant's



commanding, which he had relinquished at the call of his fellow-citizens.¹

These were times when the good and evil elements in American society struggled for the mastery, and much was accomplished and more attempted, both in politics and business, for purifying a tainted atmosphere.² To the fall elections of 1871, which showed, on the whole, a decided improvement in the Republican prospects, a chastening effect was given by a great fire in Chicago, which broke out on the 7th of October, and raged with fury over a Sunday, laying waste an immense area, which, with buildings, from the meanest wooden tenements to costly and substantial erections in the business heart of the city, was swept by billows of flame that consumed and spared not.³ Civic energy in this country is courageous and organized recuperation comes quickly. The year following Chicago's visitation saw one-third, at the least, of the value of destroyed property restored. New business buildings arose from the ruinous heaps, grander, more substantial, and artistically finer than ever before. The vast industries of that boastful but enterprising community were more than re-established.⁴ And here let us note that Boston, in 1872, just after the Presidential election, had a similar visitation in a fire, lasting over Sunday, which broke out

¹ Newspapers. Though a savage assailant of Secretary Cox and a reviler of civil service reform as "sickly sentimentality," editor Forney was appointed collector at Philadelphia.

² See VI. Rhodes, 392-411, as to the Tweed ring in New York city and its overthrow in 1871-72. There, too, the notorious Fisk, in early 1872, was shot by an angry husband while on one of his libidinous prowls; while Gould, during that same year, was turned out of the Erie railroad directorate, and by a civil suit, which he settled, made to restore plundered property to the stockholders, worth from six to nine million dollars. Newspapers, 1872.

³ Harper's Magazine, Dec., 1871; Horace White's detailed narrative in 9 Great Epochs, 135. And see VII. Rhodes, 48. 17,500 buildings were destroyed by this fire and 100,000 people made homeless. The loss of property was figured at 200 millions.

⁴ Harper, December, 1872.

g of November 9, and in its destructive course a large part of the wholesale and financial city, melting solid granite buildings in and inflicting a business loss of \$73,000,000, dwelling-houses comparatively were consumed.¹

the political gains of 1871 Grant improved to pacify the censorious of his party by political changes for the better. Murphy re-collectorship in New York City, though not bitten assurance of the President's esteem and Forney followed the example in Philadelphia, he relinquished office in order to give Grant a smelted support for re-election. To Murphy another and a worthier partisan of Conkling, Arthur, a man whose destiny it was, a few to become President of the United States, al promotion from Vice-President—in both of as he bore himself with unexpected dignity, and discretion—earning the gratitude of the

broadcast among Eastern Republicans, which contained many distinguished signatures. Expresses through the North, of Union-Republicans, gave strong support to this party review of them with bold approval and others. Many patriotic Americans who had helped President gave in their adhesion to the cause promulgated. By a grand rally of the people standard they hoped to bring in a new era honest and dignified government with conference sections, such as could only be reached other chief administrator than the present

ings of independent citizens held in various centres preceded this Cincinnati convention of last, which in itself seemed more a spontaneous gathering of thoughtful and public-spirited to classed with party Republicans, than an delegates bearing written credentials. Carl forceful zeal and eloquence had done much

✓ Lyman Trumbull, whose period of national service closely coincided with that of Adams, and whose favor to the present movement presaged a final exit from politics should it fail of success. A man of slight build, who wore spectacles, modest and quiet in demeanor and of kindly manners, Trumbull, in his Senatorial career, which covered a whole historic era, was in speech and vote one of the most fearless and conscientious as also one of the wisest of all legislators at Washington. In the printed record of some twelve immortal years he stands forth a giant in debate, morally and intellectually and one would have thought physically as well, and, recognized by this time as possessed of one of the best legal minds in Congress, he showed, what is rare enough among lawyers who engage in party politics, the quality of clear discrimination.

Adams led upon the first ballot for Presidential nominee, but on the sixth Horace Greeley, who had polled next in order, received the majority vote of the convention; and this largely because of a bold speech interjected by Gratz Brown, who withdrew his own candidacy in favor of "the man most likely to win," as he expressed it. Brown next gained for himself the second place on the ticket, as nominee for Vice-President. The spontaneity of this convention and its responsiveness to sudden appeals while too little organized for a contest over candidates proved thus its positive undoing. For while Greeley had undoubted elements of popular strength, such as might well have availed under different circumstances and in some other connection, the idea of expecting such a civilian to draw our common voters from the great military hero of the age was absurd; while they who had really nursed this liberal movement were too clear-headed to trust any leadership in opposition but that of some dignified and experienced statesman sure to introduce reforms in bestowing the public offices. Already, in order to assure his editorial support to the cause, had this convention compromised on tariff reform in its platform—since the *New York Tribune* was immovably for the old Whig policy of protection,—by adopting a neutral resolution which left that whole subject

Manuscript to
Europe April
24, 1872.

representatives in Congress without Execu-

1
nati convention was almost an admitted
its session ended; and the Liberal Republican
those glorious morning had opened with en-
sed into the penumbra of a probable defeat.
se whims and shifty impulse in both politics
copy as practically applied, had been famil-
to his fellow-countrymen for the past thirty
y no means "our later Franklin," for that
nd common sense in the higher range of
on which our earlier journalist possessed;
opher and philanthropist of asseverations
rong, of honesty and genuine benevolence,
ed upon; one who took up with the latest
as for civil service reform, had lately affiliated
th Fenton's set of vulgar heelers and place-
differed only from the Conkling gang in that,
dential favor, the latter held the local offices
her struggled to gain them. Greeley through

ing immediate suffrage for the Southern negro he had urged a generous political amnesty for the vanquished whites. He had gone surety on Jefferson Davis's bail bond. In his letter which had accepted the Cincinnati nomination he urged North and South "to clasp hands across the bloody chasm," a ringing phrase which became famous. All this warmed the hearts of ex-Confederates towards him; and when the Democrats met in convention at Baltimore, July 9, they made a notable attempt at fusion in politics on a national scale by adopting both the platform and candidates of these Liberal Republicans by a vote which approached unanimity.¹

Meanwhile the regular Republicans, who now controlled all the party patronage and machinery, had met in convention at Philadelphia on the 5th of June. Judge Thomas Settle of North Carolina presided. Grant, the inevitable candidate, was renominated for President on the first ballot by a unanimous vote. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts carried the convention for Vice-President; a party campaigner and political forecaster of wide experience, whose present selection was a shrewd offset to his rebellious colleague, Sumner, who, though hitherto uncommitted on the Liberal Republican movement, made speeches at the capitol more and more studiously virulent against the President. The Philadelphia platform pronounced distinctly for a protective tariff policy by contrast with that at Cincinnati, and herein showed superior sagacity.²

- Adams
here asks
the V-P. to
decline -

With the campaign contest thus narrowed to a Presidential choice between Greeley and Grant, leaders in our politics were forced to declare themselves for one candidate or the other. Most Republicans who had been prominent at Cincinnati supported Greeley and Brown, as honor prompted, whatever may have been their secret chagrin or misgivings. Schurz and Trumbull had already

¹ VI. Rhodes, 429. The Liberal Republican platform was adopted by 670 to 62; and Greeley received on a single ballot 686 votes out of 732.

² *Ib.*, 426; Harper, August, 1872.

up for that ticket. Sumner, in a letter of which was published, advised colored citizens who asked him to vote for Greeley, as unquestionably the best. Democrats, moreover, both North and South, stood firm in their singular alliance, as a

Greeley himself gratified the people's curiosity to see and hear him, by making a tour of the States and elsewhere, addressing vast audiences with excellent discretion and seemingly arousing interest to a degree quite unexpected. Though some Republicans disliked a Democratic indorsement, nevertheless, Greeley was helped by it.

Electoral results showed that popular crowds, who could not hear a candidate, afford by no means a fair representation of the popular vote. Grant's silence prevailed over the best oratory of his opponent. Among independent men of standing which at first had welcomed the Republican movement, the *Post* and *Nation* of New York, whose conductors knew Greeley only too well, and whose Presidential authority, repudiated him as



SECTION VII.

GRANT RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT.

General Grant's re-election to the Presidency was by an immense majority, whether reckoned by votes of the electoral colleges or by the popular vote cast at the November polls. The Greeley ticket had prevailed in only ^{1872,} six States, all belonging to the slave section of an ^{November.} earlier era.¹ In Pennsylvania ex-Senator Buckalew was defeated for governor by John F. Hartranft who had fought in the Civil War, while in New York State, General Dix, who was brought from retirement at the age of seventy-five, to oppose Francis Kernan, won by a handsome vote. Both Buckalew and Kernan, who bore similar defeat, were Democrats of the best type in personal character and popularity.²

The forces that fought for Grant most effectively were by no means the organized holders of official patronage and the party machinery, though these rendered their share of assistance. For the solid business and financial interests of the whole country gave him their firm support, dreading what might come to pass under a change of administration, with an Executive such as Greeley to direct, to say nothing of the reactionary influences under a Democratic fusion. Pennsylvania was not to be won by half promises of a protective tariff in the Liberal platform, when the regular Republicans promised protection absolutely. And as for civil service reform, Grant's new relation to the cause promised amendment of present errors in awarding the patronage; besides which the new treaty with Great Britain and Boutwell's able conduct of the Treasury were achievements which brought praise to the chief. Moreover, the lustre of a military hero, especially of one who has redeemed the nation, can rarely suffer eclipse from anything short of some later military disaster, since mere

¹ See Electoral Tables, Appendix.² VI. Rhodes, 437.

nings on his part will be leniently regarded. At all events, as voters said, we now knew General Grant and the country still pros- is to the majority of Republicans was reason e-electing him, as he evidently wished they

ely, under all the circumstances, that any one liberal Republicans could have overcome the ar candidate of the party historically famous, Liberals were allied with the well-organized That movement, so auspicious in its incep- ed as the national canvass went on and must under any nominee. For in 1872 Congress dently while the Executive put forth his Perhaps under some candidate like Adams whose election would have assured a discreet ffairs, the combined opposition might have Republican strength for the next succeeding s the elections went, the regulars of the party thirds of the House, though the Senate

it broke the crust of Northern prejudice and gave proof that the Southern people desired sincerely to get rid of sectional issues and all controversies arising out of the war.¹

A pathetic sequence of the November elections was Greeley's own death, following quickly his heart-broken disappointment over the results. Already worn out by his speech-making tour, and nightly vigils at the bedside of his wife, who died shortly before election day, he took up the editorial pen once more after his defeat to resume the customary routine of life. But "the rack of this rough world" could stretch his frame no longer, and on the 29th of November he passed from life. When the electoral colleges met, soon after, to make the choice of President and Vice-President, as the Constitution provided, the Greeley State electors unpledged, uninstructed, and without national concert, scattered their ballots for President variously; and the coalition champion, already slumbering in the grave, did not and could not go upon historical record with a single electoral vote cast for him.²

Nov. 29

Labor reforms and labor agitators had in these years been struggling for political recognition. At a national labor convention, held February 22, 1872, at Columbus, Ohio, Justice David Davis of the Supreme Court of the United States was nominated for President and Joel Parker, governor of New Jersey, for Vice-President. It was a respectable ticket, headed by a man of wealth; but the platform was one of platitudes and organized labor made but little impression in the canvass. Besides the natural wish to reduce the hours of labor while getting higher pay, such reformers had made various demonstrations of late against the importation of Chinese cheap labor for mining and building railroads. Labor unions too, were forming for one pursuit or another. In Massachusetts the labor agitators nominated Wendell Phillips for governor in 1870, but the State went Repub-

¹ Benjamin H. Hill, cited in VI. Rhodes, 439.

² See Electoral Tables, Appendix; and see VI. Rhodes, 439.

heavy vote. Coal riots broke out in 1871 in
, and Irish, Welsh and English unionists
-union men with such violence that the gover-
-ll out the militia. Strikes of trade mechanics
in various States, and in September of the
enty-five thousand working men met in New
demand an eight-hour labor law.¹

conscience had been strongly stirred, during
ial canvass, for promoting righteousness in
ile reverence shielded the consummate hero
h, our people felt by no means sympathetic
present party leaders of debasement. As in
unicipal government there were those who
corruption, until honest citizens combined
e light of public exposure and mete out retri-
o, in our social and business world, following
of a bloody strife with its attendant train of
n wealth or misfortune, greedy speculation
ted currency under a variable gold standard,
anic enterprize which seeks its ends by de-

(1) Investigation of a campaign report involving prominent members of the Republican party, was ordered by the House at Speaker Blaine's instance, without a dissenting vote, on the very day that Congress reassembled in December. That investigation, which ^{1872, December-}concerned a corrupt distribution of Credit ^{1873, March.}Mobilier stock by Oakes Ames, one of the members, occupied nearly the whole of the session and was fearlessly conducted and reported upon, by a committee of five, headed by Luke P. Poland of Vermont. This Credit Mobilier was a fiscal corporation which had been made an adjunct of the new Union Pacific Railroad, through the adoption of an earlier Pennsylvania charter. The object was to lend means and energy for building that railroad completely to a finish at a time when the immense capital needful for such an enterprise could not otherwise be easily raised. Ames, a Massachusetts man, embarked his own individual wealth and credit heavily in the daring achievement of this transcontinental undertaking; so that in one sense he might have seemed, as he really regarded himself, a public benefactor. But in another sense the prime motive was to make money for himself and his inner ring of railroad stockholders. And for one of a speculative turn, the profits promised and realized were indeed, princely; for, under various acts passed since 1862, Congress had donated handsomely to the Union Pacific road from the public domain, and made a loan of \$27,000,000 besides, under a junior lien; all of which went towards securing the road-building contractors.¹

What concerned the public most in this matter was that Ames, feeling the need of friends in Congress to legislate or prevent legislation, as the exigencies of his enterprise and the Union Pacific road might require, had approached various fellow-members and others of influence in that body, with this Credit Mobilier stock under sanction of the directorate. Bought, about July, 1867, at par, as he offered

¹ VII. Rhodes, 4. The actual profits of the Credit Mobilier ring were variously computed, from \$8,000,000 to \$23,000,000.

lation it wanted, and with Ames's ready
carry his friend's investment as a loan to
ity without a transfer of the stock itself, and
integrity but straitened means were drawn
unawares. For investment here meant the
name might be carried on Ames's private
book, his checks for the profits being handed
time to time.

After all, the palpable offence consisted
denials when the charges first came out in
and perjury, or something like it, at the
tion afterwards. Of Congressmen accused
Scofield, Allison, Bingham and others
quitted; but as to Garfield, and Vice-Pres-
men hitherto of unblemished reputation the
clusions reached by the committee were
Garfield indeed carried his case to an in-
own constituents, both friends and ene-
vassing for a re-election in 1874, and then
and when the people of the United States
later, chose him President his vindication
But as to Colfax, whose individual testi-
committee was unconvincing, betraying
dissemble and equivocate, to say the least
inclination was ill. High in fame and popu-
became Vice-President in 1869, the high

and report, Ames, together with James Brooks of New York, a member likewise of the House and a government director of the Union Pacific railroad, received in February a vote of censure. Expulsion, a harsher visitation, had been recommended for each of them; but the lighter punishment sufficed, for both died before the summer, under the stress of mortification and grief.¹

(2) The "Salary Grab" Act, so called of this session, originated in the desire of victorious Republicans to please the President by doubling his salary beyond that of all predecessors. To this bounty was added increases for such other high officials as the Vice-President, members of the Cabinet and the Justices of the Supreme Court; and to such generous provision members of Congress tacked, as was natural, an increase of their own pay and that of the Speaker of the House.² But this excessive liberality, though not unfairly founded upon the high cost of living at the present time, provoked indignant remonstrance from the people, coming, as it did, close in the wake of the Credit Mobilier exposure; and Democrats and Republicans alike who had voted for the measure had cause to tremble at the wrath of their constituents. The chief indiscretion of Congress consisted in making the law retroactive as to themselves; for, whatever might have been Congressional precedent in our earlier annals, the whole trend of constitutional practice and policy in the States was against permitting legislators to increase, while serving, their own recompense for an existing term. Of this "back pay steal," as it came to be called, which donated handsomely to members for the two preceding years, of a Congress just closing, many who drew the increased pay covered it into the treasury; others who had opposed declined to draw at all; while others still, sought

¹ See more fully, VII. Rhodes, 1-18.

A Senator from New Hampshire went into political exile at this time under a like cloud of disgrace which never lifted. A grave impropriety was also exposed in one of the United States judiciary, which led to his resignation.

² Act March 3, 1873.

Among matters brought to the attention of Congress, but not acted upon, was the state of our shipping consequent upon the fact that there had been a marked increase in the cost of lumber on the lakes and Western rivers, but in 1872. the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Mail Steamship Company, New York Chamber of Commerce, in January presented a memorial to Congress, asking for relief from the situation. Ocean steamships of this class could now be built more cheaply in England than here, and with our higher cost of labor they could not well compete. Inquiry being made of the War Department, Secretary Robeson responded favorably to the petitioners, and proposed that the building of our own ships should be promoted, as in former times. England had increased a third of the entire commerce of the globe by exporting our cotton, and she had grown by exporting our cotton. Hence he advised subsidies in money to be granted, still, the public guaranty of a fair amount of business required for American competition. A bill was also recommended. A bill was subsequently introduced, prepared by the Secretary of

for relief was taken by the present Congress, and subsidies, whether for railroads or steamship lines, were in general disfavor.¹

The new census for 1870 had been compiled under the superintendence of Francis A. Walker, eminent in after years as an educator and author. No new territory had been added to the area of enumeration in the Union during the previous decade—for Alaska, though purchased in 1867, was not brought into present census reckoning,—and hence a comparison with the figures of 1860 was simple. The effect of the Civil War, with its ~~its~~ holocaust of human life and loss of immigration, was shown by a diminished percentage of increase for the past ten years, the lowest yet since 1790, the date of our earliest census. As always, however, a substantial gain was shown in aggregate numbers and now all inhabitants were free, as not before; and upon such a showing a new and increased apportionment for the next House was ordered.² J

¹ Harper's, January, March, May, 1872.

² Act February 2, 1872. The percentage of increase during the past decade had been 22.6, and the total population in 1870 was 38,558,371.

January 13, 1874 -

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

PERIOD OF FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

March 4, 1873-March 4, 1875.

PERIOD OF FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

March 4, 1875-March 4, 1877.

SECTION I.

A NEW OPPORTUNITY.

Address at his second inauguration seemed fitting with the circumstances of wide dissatisfaction attending his new lease of Executive power.

color. The skies were bright, this 4th of March, but a cutting north wind, the very breath of winter, chilled the crowd that gathered at noon for the inaugural exercises, and made cold drafts by night in the rough wooden building improvised for dancing.¹

The popular foreboding, but half suppressed, that this second term would witness no real improvement in the Presidency was to be confirmed. Of cabinet advisers Fish and Robeson alone continued to serve through Grant's second term; the latter a jovial bachelor when first installed as Secretary of the Navy, but marrying while in office a Washington widow of social influence, prominent in the court circle of the capital. Boutwell, now withdrawing from the Treasury to fill Vice-President Wilson's unexpired term in the Senate, had pressed with success the appointment of William A. Richardson, his assistant and personal friend, from Massachusetts, who served, however, for only a brief space; three Secretaries, in fact, administering that responsible office, one after another, in course of the next four years. To Belknap, Secretary of War, whose fall from grace we shall note later, there came two successors. Delano of the Interior resigned in ^x October, 1875, to be replaced by Zachariah Chandler, who had lost his re-election to the Senate. For Postmaster General, Creswell, who retired in 1874, had three followers in turn. Nor did ex-Senator Williams, who had filled Akerman's vacancy as Attorney General remain long during this new administration, but two others completed the record. With a varying Cabinet like this, composed of official heads whose views and dispositions greatly differed, Grant's new administration lacked unity of purpose and execution much more than that which had preceded it, while his own direction continued fickle and fortuitous. JL

This administration had progressed scarce a fortnight when George William Curtis resigned from the Civil Serv-

¹ Newspapers; VII. Rhodes, 99.

^x Resigned July 5, 1875; accepted Sept 22 - H. Irwin.
[offered Oct 1. - M. 205.]

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on,¹ alleging that the spirit and letter of the laws had been violated in recent appointments. Dorman B. Eaton, another sincere reformer, joined; but the Board as a whole, through other influences, was less trustworthy than before.² Grant kept waiting longer, referring to the work done on various reports to Congress. But in December, 1874, he stated, in his annual message that, if Congress adjourn without positive legislation on the subject, he would regard the system as discredited and would abandon it. Congress did not act; and hence the whole scheme of civil service and competitive examinations for government positions came mostly to an end. "Statesmanship in the person of Thurlow Weed towards the close of the administration was so low that it will take many years to build up a better tone."³

It may have been the President's personal favoritism of his choicest friends in legislation that was constantly adverse to a classified service, and that was the burden of the criticism of the civil service.

through proxies a petty income of a sinecure kind.¹ In February, 1874, at the behest of Representative Butler, who was said to have gained in some way a special hold upon him, Grant appointed William A. Simmons and procured his confirmation as collector of the port of Boston, against the protest of many leading citizens of Massachusetts and the open opposition of the Republican governor of that State, with both Senators and seven out of the eleven members of the Massachusetts delegation in the House. Simmons was a professed church-goer in private life—"A young Christian soldier," as Boutwell styled him—but as a manipulator of voters in Boston's worst wards and a jobber in dubious politics his reputation was unsavory.²

Chief Justice Chase died in New York on the 7th of May, 1873. He had suffered a first apoplectic shock in 1870, and yet bore himself to the last with dignity and composure in his official tasks, holding the Bible to Grant for the customary oath on the recent 4th of March. A great national opportunity was afforded in the choice of a successor to that exalted office.

For the vacancy long forecast the President in November offered to appoint his favorite in the Senate, Roscoe Conkling. To this the independent press of the country made much objection, since Conkling had quarreled so constantly over partisan spoils, and both for legal scholarship and moral fibre he was widely distrusted. Yet it might perhaps have been said of him, as of the predecessor now deceased, that if he would forego all

¹ N. Y. Nation, March 16, 1876. Judge Dent died in 1874.

² VII. Rhodes, 23, 24. Senator Boutwell's opposition here was somewhat forced and tardy; and for this he suffered, when his re-election as Senator came up.

Simmons's career as a custom-house collector proved not as reprehensible as had been predicted. But there was a low tone to his political and personal associations, and, later in life, after removing to New York City, he made himself liable to investigation, as a municipal grafter.

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beforeward and devote himself to the noble detachment which the Chief Justiceship demands, as his best, his last, and his service to the country, his selection would be at such a test Conkling did not himself care. Grant in consequence turned elsewhere with a self-sufficient judgment, characteristic of his civil dealings.

Williams, his Attorney General, was Grant's choice. Williams was a man of moral character and made a good record as Senator, but as a man from the far-off and bucolic State of Oregon his attainments were questionable for his present position. Much more for the consummate one of Chief Justice. The Associations on the Atlantic slope sent memorials to the Senate against confirming him, alleging that he was deficient in the "indispensable qualifications of experience and reputation;" and other circumstances combined to threaten his rejection. In consequence, therefore, the President withdrew the nomination.

personal favor; and with that letter assigned as a sufficient basis of objection Republican Senators asked the President to withdraw the nomination, which he did at once.¹

Still indisposed to ask advice in advance on so grave a matter where professional opinion had been worth consulting, Grant made a fourth choice for Chief Justice and this time his nomination proved a wise one and was promptly confirmed by the Senate, whose relief from embarrassment was quickly perceptible. Morrison R. Waite of Ohio had been brought into recent prominence at the Geneva arbitration and was at this time presiding at a constitutional convention of his State. Many thought him a commonplace man, honest indeed, but not remarkable, when he was thus elevated before the people; but faithful industry and experience will always accomplish much for a Chief Justice of sound morals and sense whose tenure is secure, and Waite, in his course of a fourteen years' incumbency, gave ample proof that he was admirably fitted for the conspicuous office.²

This commotion over a new Chief Justice had begun when the President sent in the name of his Attorney General for the place, December 1; and on that day the forty-third Congress, including the Senate, convened for the long session. The truly absorbing ^{1873,} December. interest of that session was financial, for a business panic which had begun in September, 1873, brought sadly depressing results to our trade and commerce which were felt through the whole remaining period of Grant's second term.

Feverish business conditions were first discerned in the preceding year. The waste and impoverishment of the Civil War itself, only too slowly realized; an immense destruction of wealth caused by destructive fires, and especially that of Chicago in 1871; the long conduct of a pampered trade and intercourse, delusively prosperous

¹ January, 1874; VII. Rhodes, 27, 28.

² VII. Rhodes, 28, 29. This nomination was sent in January 19 and unanimously confirmed two days later.

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s of a fluctuating paper currency whose
es stimulated the ambition to speculate and
uture—all these had combined to induce
n business while promoters continued over-
was Northern enterprise which chiefly felt
on; since the South, visibly impoverished,
a staple products as it might.* Capital was
and debts had been freely created by north-
e, States and municipalities. Lavish waste,
and mismanagement, both public and pri-
s quarters of the land, lent also an influence
financial crisis sooner or later inevitable.
an panic of 1873 had its premonition in
an acute distress on the Vienna Bourse
bankers of danger and checked the flow of
England and the continent, hitherto abun-
in American enterprises. Those enterprises
ed at home with reckless speed and self-
most of all, an amount of railroad building,
ad precedent had been entered upon, where

As in 1857, too rapid development of railways in this country was the prime cause of distress and panic. New roads had been constructed and old ones improved and extended at an aggregate cost approaching \$500,000,000, about four-fifths of which amount was borrowed money, through the sale of bonds abroad and by temporary loans at home. During the summer of 1873 Wall Street was disturbed by the failure of a Brooklyn Trust Com-^{1873.}pany which had become heavily involved in a ^{Sept., Oct.} neighboring railroad enterprise. A gradual stringency ensued in the money market; and when on the 18th of September the famous house of Jay Cooke & Co. suspended payment, overloaded and crushed by the heavy burden of the Northern Pacific railroad which it had set out with overconfidence to build, a wild panic broke out. A score of firms suspended the next day in New York and Philadelphia; some of them hitherto of the highest standing. Depositors began a run upon the banks. Stocks in great favor, six months earlier, found frantic owners eager to sell at a sacrifice while few were prepared to purchase. On Saturday, the 20th, the Stock Exchange of New York city closed its doors—an extraordinary action—in order to allay the dangerous excitement and give time for confidence to recover.¹

Sunday, the 21st, was a day of anxious conference. The President with Secretary Richardson arrived from Washington to discuss the situation privately with New York's business magnates and financiers. They were implored to ease the money market by letting loose all or part of the currency reserve held in the Treasury, for eventual cancellation; this they refused to do, but agreed to purchase government bonds with the surplus currency and reduce the stringency to that extent.² This was presently done, and another temporary mode of relief for the emergency was afforded in the city by the issue of clearing-house certificates upon a pool of collaterals, in place of green-

¹ Harper's, 1873; VII. Rhodes, 43, 44; Andrews's Quarter Century, c. 10.

² About \$13,000,000 were thus purchased.

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little the daily bank balances—an expedient
mutary. Banks also for the emergency certified
of their customers as good through the
se, cashing only the small checks which were
their counters, so as to discourage as far as
hoarding of greenbacks and national bank
uesday, September 30, the Stock Exchange
r business after having remained closed for
an event unparalleled in its history. By the
ctober business gradually renewed its wonted
he panic, to speak strictly, came to an end.
had meanwhile been checked, while banks
d to confine themselves mainly to aiding the

season of actual depression throughout the
much longer nor did business fairly revive
e 1878. The five intervening years, as Mr.
es reminds us, "are a long dismal tale of
markets, exhaustion of capital, a lowering in

suffered most keenly. Credit was refused, debtors were pressed, the prices of securities, lately thought gilt-edged, fell to a ruinous level, factories ran on short time or closed altogether, corporations failed. Most of all was perceived a great set-back to that railroad development over the continent which had proceeded far too rapidly. American securities, this time private rather than State or municipal, came into great scandal abroad, as in the old days of Sidney Smith and Dickens, through default and delinquency when interest fell due.

Fortunate was it in these days for savings banks whose rules enabled them to require time notice before a deposit could be withdrawn. For concerns of that name in various cities which had pursued the dangerous practice of honoring a customer's checks on presentation, like ordinary banks of deposit, suspension, failure and a general winding up were now frequent. One of the worst failures of such fiduciaries of the poor and patronizing guides to general thriftiness was that of the Freedman's Savings Bank. Incorporated since the war as a national benevolence to the colored man, with a chief office in Washington and some thirty branches in Southern cities, it had built up a large business whose special appeal with a beehive emblem and printed sheet was to the newly emancipated. But its white directors at the Capital, frenzied philanthropists, became deeply involved in the new District of Columbia improvements, and, being unwisely allowed by act of Congress to invest in mortgages, loaned loosely upon unstable land security in Washington and made advances upon plantations at the far South which could not be knocked out under the hammer. When examined in 1873, because of its suspension, this institution was found in bad condition and by 1874 it was pronounced insolvent. Loans were revealed upon stock of a local stone quarry, a paving company and a publishing company, three ring speculations of the District, and only four hundred dollars were found in its vaults, to represent securities of the United States. Congress never indemnified the credulous

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and even the procedure sanctioned for winding up was discreditable, employing a salaried and inexperienced commission to handle the meagre assets.¹

At the depressing condition of affairs when the Congress assembled. No wonder that the disasters of the Credit Mobilier exposure and the salary raise, those last exhibitions of its department, should still haunt the historic chambers. The new House, increased by 49 additional members, the new apportionment, whose Republican majority was nearly three times as great as that in the previous Congress, about two-thirds of this body being Republicans. In the Senate, where parties balanced themselves, General John B. Gordon, of Georgia sat for the Confederate, while P. B. S. Pinchback, a mulatto of bad antecedents, sought admission, but his delay was refused with a consolation of salary. James G. Blaine, immensely popular at the time, was chosen Speaker of the House for a third

in the country. Morton, Logan and Ferry—"the paper money trinity," as Thurman, who was a hard-money democrat, styled them—, differed among themselves, as between simply reissuing the present \$44,000,000 reserve now held in the Treasury for cancellation and retirement, and making a large paper increase at least twice as great, in the hope that debtors might thus be better enabled to liquidate and business to resume its wonted prosperity.¹ The West, with a boundary line slowly changeable, was then, as it has been ever since, largely indebted to our North Atlantic States and Europe for the means of development upon a margin of security, and railroads extending into the newly settled regions were mostly owned and controlled by eastern capital. Hence a constant disposition among western farmers to fight railway rates of transportation for their produce as though too high, and among western men generally to pay creditors of the older and richer States in paper or other money of minor value. But Schurz, Sherman and Thurman opposed new ventures on the treacherous sea of paper credit, siding in opinion with the East, whose established methods in finance made bankers conservative over any increased inflation of the currency.²

As a matter of fact, Secretary Richardson, with the President's sanction, had reissued as much as \$26,000,000 of that greenback reserve, by early January, 1874, to help the money market, and this, notwithstanding the refusal to reissue they had made at the New York conference of September. Boutwell in the Senate defended Richardson's right to do this; though to concede any such arbitrary power in a Secretary of the Treasury must have been highly dangerous. The Senate, too, weakening under outside pressure just as the Executive had done, passed April 6, 1874, after much discussion, a bill which, legalizing the reissue which the Treasury had already made, fixed a maximum amount of permissible greenback inflation for the present crisis at \$400,000,000; and the House con-

¹ VII. Rhodes, 53, 54.

² *Ib.*

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days later, that unwise measure went to
for his signature.¹

ectedly, however, Grant returned the bill to
the 22d, with his veto. In various messages
ted conservatism regarding our finances, yet
ought averse to a moderate inflation, and at
as widely assumed that he would leave the
to the discretion of Congress. As he stated
had really a hard struggle of mind when this
him, thinking at first that he would approve
s though it were a veritable compromise over
ch it certainly was not, but he finally con-
much thought and anxiety, to face the
d in a veto. That course once decided by
l upon, the bill met its sure death; for the
emphatically to get more than a small
rds the two-thirds essential for passage over
objections.²

as courageous, under all the circumstances,
praise as a worthy act, and, indeed, the

after all, for finance to gain the open road to prosperity and honor.

For the new Secretary of the Treasury, however, to whom Boutwell had consigned his toga, the path of administration was not a smooth one. A county probate judge in his own State of integrity and character, a good codifier of the laws and a manager of estates safe and trustworthy, Richardson, though capable in routine matters of his exacting office, had not those qualifications of bold and creative skill, originality and experience in financial affairs which the higher exigencies of his department demanded in times like these. His mind dwelt too much upon the emoluments of office,¹ and such petty matters. He was unused to politics and the activities of public life, and showed himself timid as against statesmen overbearing and unscrupulous, whose influence he dared not oppose. A peddling experiment of financial relief with small silver change which he had lately undertaken caused much amusement, while his large reissue of the Treasury reserve against his own stated purpose was a sign of incapacity to resist. And now, following Grant's veto of the inflation bill, the Republican Ways and Means Committee of the House made a report which gave clear proof that loose and invertebrate methods prevailed in the Treasury department.² John D. Sanborn of Boston, a henchman of Butler, had been awarded a contract while Richardson was Assistant Secretary, for ferreting out and

¹ While a probate judge in Middlesex County, he kept a business office in Boston, settling estates and gladly serving as counsel in counties outside his immediate jurisdiction. And when invited to Washington to be Assistant Secretary under his friend Boutwell, he held to his judicial place, besides, and undertook to manage the two offices so far apart, upon a double salary, until a prohibitive bill introduced in the Massachusetts legislature, by way of rebuke, caused him to resign as judge, and confine himself to his national duties at the capital. Author's recollections.

² May 4, 1874. The report was by Charles Foster of Ohio. VII. Rhodes, 65.

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such excise taxes owing the government as might be unpaid and evaded, under a moiety arrangement with the Treasury. Moieties to informers had been condemned emphatically by public opinion and were not in government policy; and, though this contract had the legal sanction of a provision mysteriously introduced into an appropriation act of 1872, there were circumstances which raised a strong suspicion that much of the money which Sanborn thus procured was used for corrupt purposes. A House investigation was the consequence, and a report followed. No imputation could be cast upon either Boutwell or Richardson, but the latter's evasive testimony before the committee showed a culpable ignorance or neglect to ascertain in connection with this contract. Hence the committee's report drew forth comment at a time when the House was in a hostile and quite disposed to censure somebody. It relieved the situation by accepting Richardson's resignation from the Treasury at once and appointing him to a judgeship on the Court of Claims,—a position

past few years of revolutionary stress, when importers of the highest standing in the country had suffered from an indiscriminate seizure of their books for the scrutiny of old accounts, which perchance might reveal to the tormentors some customs duty unpaid.¹

Soon after Congress had adjourned Cresswell resigned as Postmaster General, and the President, August 24, appointed Marshall Jewell of Connecticut his successor. Jewell had made a good governor in his State and was at this time serving abroad as minister to Russia. He was a man of business with strict business methods, and like Bristow of the Treasury he favored reform in the civil service and the correction of abuses in office patronage. For this, as we shall see, both these excellent administrators came to grief and their presence in the cabinet proved of short duration. (Resigned July 10, 1876. June 24. August.)

The death of Charles Sumner, March 11, 1874, was among the impressive events of this notable session of Congress. His place during the last two years of his life had been lonely and pathetic. His towering pride was wounded at all points. Deprived of his accustomed leadership in the Senate, he saw his former mantle worn by other party associates less worthy. His scheme of political horticulture in the South had indeed prevailed, but the blossoms were bad and hands less clean than his own delved in the soil to cultivate an unpromising experiment. On the Presidential issue of 1872 he had met, for the first time in his political life, a disastrous defeat. The silent Cæsar he had opposed was now fixed at the White House as firmly as before; while his own Massachusetts colleague and friend of many years presided in the familiar Senate chamber, as though to rebuke him. Nor even had that Liberal movement in politics to which he committed himself sought its inspiration from his lead or counsel. Against such public vicissitudes, discord and desertion, instead of consolation and love, had been his

¹ Acts June 22, 1874, ch. 391, 393.

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he domestic hearth; and his bodily health, life
ew to be precarious.

ch sad but chastening influences, Sumner had
wn counsel for many months, reserving com-
the election results; and self-counsel led him, in
1872, to dismiss vindictiveness and tender as it
e branch to those Southern foes against whom
ht so long and so bitterly. He now proposed in
that all "names of battles with fellow-citizens"
removed from our flags and the army register,
ed nations should not and were not wont to
the memories of civil war. For this—a proposal
ar-reaching, thus early, to be appreciated or
—Sumner was denounced as a reactionary by
blicans in and out of Congress, and abused
ured by the party press. The bill went over,
egislature of his State, in its annual session,
te of censure upon him. Sumner's illness was
hen this new Congress convened in December,
knt his accustomed place long enough to show

As for that premature proposal of the Senator concerning battle flags the time came, after thirty years had elapsed, when Congress inclined to recognize the spirit of its wisdom and propriety.¹ The majesty of a pure life in the public service should ever win the homage of hearts susceptible to honorable feeling. As was well said of him, Sumner, though a combatant all his life, had made war with a cause, and not with persons; and one may add that his life-long devotion was to uplift a race rather than to concern himself intimately with the character or capacity of individuals of that race. Hence came it that, with a sensitive conscience, an imperious sense of duty and grand ideals, he often seemed simple and unsophisticated in methods and means and failed to comprehend or allow fairly for the views and feelings of those who differed with him.² Yet, after all, such failings are those of the noblest among mankind.

SECTION II.

REBELLION'S PURGATORY.

In his second inaugural address Grant had confidently announced that the ex-Confederate States were now "happily rehabilitated" and free from all abnormal control by the nation's Executive.³ Such, doubtless, was his honest belief; but the utterance was belied by 1873, Jan.-events transpiring in Louisiana when he made it. March. Two State governments were in collision there, headed by rivals each of whom claimed his election at the polls in 1872, John McEnery and William Pitt Kellogg; the former having been chosen governor on the face of the returns, upon a fusion ticket of Conservatives with a Republican faction headed by Henry C. Warmouth, the governor in office who was about to retire. Kellogg

¹ VII. Rhodes, 100, note.

² George William Curtis in 49 Harper, 149.

³ *Supra*, p. 226; VI. Rhodes, 319.

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port of another Republican faction, whose
ackard, the United States marshal. Under
law of Louisiana an official returning board, of
isting governor was chairman *ex-officio*, had
discretion in revising and modifying election
he Kellogg partisans here claimed, notwith-
election had been unusually free from violent
ns, that the Republican colored vote, had
ently suppressed in certain parishes. The
been counted, and the Warmouth board
e McEnery candidates against the protest of
es, each contending party took its own course
claim good. The McEnery government,
e white militia and the intelligent sentiment
took ready possession of the State House at
; whereupon the Kellogg government, with
ls of another returning board improvised
ion, appealed to their own supporters, the
s officers in court and custom house, to place
in power.¹



and held by military compulsion, and under President Grant's express sanction and approval the Republican legislature met there. In due time Kellogg was installed as the rightful Executive of the State and assumed the reins of government.

Under disorderly conditions like these and with opposing turbulence in various parts of Louisiana by desperate supporters of the supplanted McEnery government, fights broke out presently between whites and negroes. In Grant parish, far up on the Red River and 350 miles from New Orleans, a fearful massacre took place on Easter Monday, April 23. A body of white McEnery sympathizers there, who refused to recognize the local judge and sheriff commissioned by Governor Kellogg, fought for possession of the court house, with cannon and musketry, and shot down in cold blood three score or more negroes who had sought refuge in the building.¹ Such brutal outbreaks, where poor blacks, timid, as they always had been, in the white man's presence, were sure to get the worst of an encounter, deepened Northern resentment against the ex-Confederates and postponed the day of real reunion. Yet they were a consequence, not unnatural, of the position assumed at this time by the Executive at Washington in Louisiana politics, which strove to keep the most powerful and permanent elements of a State submissive to a transitory usurpation.

Congress was much to blame for this intolerable state of affairs, in the session which had first followed the disputed election in Louisiana. A Senate committee of Republicans investigated and its majority made report in February, 1873, to the effect that while McEnery had been chosen on the face of the returns, the election had not been fairly conducted. To add votes that have not been cast on the ground that they would or should have been is, however, a dangerous matter. Conceding that the Kellogg government could only be maintained by the military power of the United States, this committee

¹ VII. Rhodes, 112, 113.

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a new election, with the voting machinery
ed and handled. But Morton's powerful
eated a bill introduced for that purpose.
pecial message that same month, argued in
Kellogg government against McEnery's, and
ongress took no action he should recognize
t. No action was taken and consequently
gime gained its full grasp of power.¹

akness of this Kellogg incubus became mani-
fter the President had withdrawn all United
from Louisiana except a small garrison. At a
public meeting of citizens held in September
ew Orleans a committee was appointed to
gg to resign his office. He refused to do so,
e citizens rose in revolution against him
Kellogg fled to the custom house, the militia
fusing to sustain him; the local police, mostly
overawed; and, repossessing themselves
lding which belonged to the sovereign people

in Louisiana, not for governor but for members of the legislature. On the face of the returns the conservative fusionists had a majority of 29 in a House of Representatives of 111. But this time Kellogg and Packard controlled the returning board, whose announcement, after a long season of suspense, was that 53 Republicans and 53 Conservatives were elected, while as to 5 seats, no decision was rendered.¹ Pending that decision, Packard still kept his double sway as United States marshal and chairman of the Republican committee; and by his arrests of white citizens, through deputies aided by the Federal troops, he spread the impression that the party dominant at Washington was determined to have its way at all hazards.²

The sequel to such manipulation of the election returns was revealed when, January 4, 1875, Louisiana's legislature met at noon in the crescent city to organize. Following the memorable precedent set at Washington in 1839 under John Quincy Adams's lead,³ the Louisiana House of Representatives, on assembling, overrode on a point of order the refractory clerk of the last House who called the roll, took the business into its own hands, and, ignoring altogether the returning board's figuring, seated Wiltz, a Conservative, as temporary chairman, and proceeded to organize in its own summary way with a competent quorum, electing Wiltz speaker besides the other officers. Fifty-five Conservatives were next sworn in, while of the Republicans who had begun leaving the hall in a body five were detained by the new sergeant-at-arms so as to keep the quorum guarded. Disturbances arose in the lobby; and at three in the afternoon the Federal General de Trobriand entered in full uniform, with two of his staff, to execute, as he an-

¹ An arbitrary, unjust and illegal action, as Foster, Phelps and Potter, who visited New Orleans as a House sub-committee to investigate, reported afterwards. VII. Rhodes, 114.

² VII. Rhodes, 115, citing the sub-committee's reports.

³ Newspapers; VII. Rhodes, 117-119. See IV. Schouler, 320.

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governor Kellogg's order to clear the hall of all who had not been returned as legal members by the board. The speaker protested; but calling them back to the hall he had the five members in question removed from their desks, one after another, at the bayonet. Wiltz and his Conservatives thereupon withdrew in indignation and party Republicans, seated in their seats under military protection, reorganized in their own fashion and proceeded to business. Sheridan had already been sent to New Orleans to look into conditions, and he assumed command in Louisiana on the night of the 4th. Next day he sent to the President a message which gave confidence of his own ability to keep the peace: "In view of the disorders and disturbances of late by the 'bad men' of Louisiana and two neighboring States, I have been compelled to take a free hand in treating members of the 'bad men' as 'banditti,' trying the ringleaders by a court-martial." Should Congress fail to pass a bill conferring powers upon him, the President had only to

berated Andrew Johnson comprehended more clearly than his successor the true extent of Sheridan's fitness of temperament for handling a perplexing situation like that in Louisiana, when "the war drum throbbed no longer."¹

Upon the news of De Trobriand's renovation of the Louisiana House of Representatives by force of arms—not permitting a legislature with a legal quorum to judge of the qualifications of its own members as fundamental law prescribes,—followed, as it was, by Sheridan's announcement of further military methods for cutting with the sword the Gordian knot of a complex and difficult problem in State politics—the anger at the North was hot and intense, regardless of party fealty. Tested by the autumn elections of 1874 Democrats were already in the ascendant throughout the Union and opposition to Republican domination in affairs was gaining the upper hand. Large indignation meetings assembled in New York and Boston, at which eminent citizens of political independence and integrity spoke their minds vigorously. Many who had read of Charles I and Cromwell in their school days denounced this Louisiana intervention as the most outrageous subversion of parliamentary government ever yet attempted in the United States. Schurz in the Senate made a speech of scathing eloquence. And to confirm the tidings which first reached Washington, Foster, Phelps and Potter, the House committee investigators at New Orleans, who now returned, made full report of the State House imbroglio as they had witnessed it, with abundant testimony taken by them during an eight days' stay in the city. Their report, given to the public by the middle of January, made a deep impression of disgust and loathing over Louisiana's latest situation.²

To soothe such outbursts of popular wrath and indignation, and in view of the damaging election returns of 1874 with the canvass of 1876 approaching which threatened total disaster to their national supremacy, the Republicans

¹ *Supra*, p. 111; and see VII. Rhodes, 120. ² VII. Rhodes, 123.

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Now sent to New Orleans a fresh committee of investigate and report. George F. Hoar was , and William A. Wheeler and William P. his associates. Their report as presented, ary 23, 1875, after a sojourn in New Orleans ays, made the most of white "outrages" o, which had come to be the stock reliance of rgument for keeping Northern passions in- st the South. The statistics of political mitted by men of the master race were General Sheridan's own figuring, and yet ation of affairs under present State condi- of the public funds, tyrannous taxation, d dishonesty had also in candor to be ad- f this committee concluded that intimidation d a full, free and fair election in Louisiana in e action of the returning board was wrong ng; and that the Conservatives of the d taken an objectionable method to set the Upon the further method pursued by Gen-

The legislature agreed by joint resolution not to disturb the Kellogg government for the remainder of the Executive term, which lasted until January, 1877.¹ The important bearing of that *modus vivendi* upon the Presidential choice of 1876 and the electoral count which followed will be seen in the further course of our narrative.

The lot of Louisiana in these years was peculiarly unhappy, for the State was a large and powerful one, prosperous in staples and an extensive commerce during a former era but held in a tight grip ever since 1862 by the Union arms; its metropolis, the chief Southern centre of dramatic disturbance, though not of bloodshed, while the war lasted. Once gay, wealthy and lively, and still fond of pageantry after the Parisian fashion, the "lord of misrule," who had so often figured in the annual *Mardi gras* procession was now an oppressive reality. The story of Louisiana under carpet-domination from 1868 on was "a sickening tale of extravagance, waste, corruption and fraud."² The colored population of this State exceeded the whites numerically, though by a small margin, and with the negroes mostly Republican they made the real basis of the allied control in State politics. Negroes of the sort who worked into the legislature or got the lesser offices while higher appointment was the swag of their white patrons, became quick experts by imitation in the arts of venality, bribe-taking and the unblushing barter of political influence. The evil of misgovernment in this State was aggravated because Louisiana's Chief Executive had, under fundamental law, a long tenure and exercised a liberal dispensation of patronage in the parish and district offices. As for returning boards that of Louisiana differed not greatly from those of some Northern States; but to supersede thus the inherent right of an American legislature to judge of the qualifications of its own members was a new departure and

¹ VII. Rhodes, 127, and citations; N. Y. Nation, March 4, 1875.

² *Ib.*, 104.

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illegal one. Returning boards, furthermore, imposed of a set of disreputable scoundrels, some inside partisan advantage which is an external force, may always be expected to be evously; for all government by the people at one point or another, confide in the personal integrity of those who administer it.

Tragedies as the result of negro suffrage were inflicted in Louisiana and various other States during these turbulent years of turmoil.

There were even negro massacres committed in ill-governed communities where bad blood and deeds of violence and men were callous over the wrongs. But as to any provocation of wrong on two sides to the question. In any fierce riot the weaker one must go to the wall. The right of suffrage in a free country is a sacred one; and votes which were never cast, must upon any oppression be a highly delicate and difficult thing for them whose franchise rights are denied them.

1874 in that proud but prostrate State is heart-sickening. Negro suffrage prevailed in those years without stint or hindrance; and as negro voters at the polls far outnumbered the whites, and their white allies or instigators were of the same political party, the combined Republican majority in South Carolina was great and at times overwhelming. It followed that by 1872 negroes gained upon their simple demand most of the State offices, excepting that of governor, whose dignity they still left to the white man—even the lieutenant-governor and treasurer falling to their portion; while in the legislature, where members of their race numbered more than three to one, they monopolized the chief places—both president of the senate and speaker of the house included at one time—and held an auction mart in the two chambers for six years with as rapacious and unblushing robbery and bribe-taking for legislation as government in the name of a people has ever seen or dreamed of. No scoundrelly method of fleecing taxpayers or of bartering votes to the railroads and other moneyed parties that came to the State House to lobby for charters, grants, subsidies or other favors, was left unknown or untried by these rogues in clover, who were quick-witted in learning ingenious tricks, for putting money into the purse. Barbaric extravagance and outlay for showy and vicious indulgences prevailed: spittoons of imported china, costly clocks, chandeliers and French mirrors, open bars for rollicking members which were well supplied with champagne, whiskies and cigars of the choicest brand—all figured in the category of public disbursements far exceeding the appropriations. A house of ill fame at the State capital, which was kept by a colored woman, found furniture from her sensual benefactors at the expense of the constituents, and under the guise of a gratuity for presiding well, a white Speaker of the House received by resolve a special \$1000 to reimburse him for the loss of a bet on a horse race in which his sable fellow-members had taken a fraternal interest.¹

¹ See more fully, VII. Rhodes, 42.

1 c. or p. 142 H

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Executive chair of this unhappy State—once
those oligarchy of slaveholding planters—sat an
bagger by the name of Scott from 1868 to
J. J. Moses, Jr., a Jewish native of South
followed him from 1872 to 1874.¹ Both were
corruptionists; each set to his colored asso-
sample of filching from the public exchequer,
had the clearer field of the two; and each, by
e of the pardoning power as Executive turned
the worst character, serving terms in the
to prey once more upon the community.
evied taxes in this State seldom paid them,
who entered the legislature poor left it rich,
which flowed fast through their fingers.
of assessment came upon plantation owners of
ocracy, who by this time were harassed over
livelihood; and in spite of all taxation, the
State rolled up inexorably until repudiation
evitable. The judiciary of South Carolina
nest and efficient incumbents in the highest

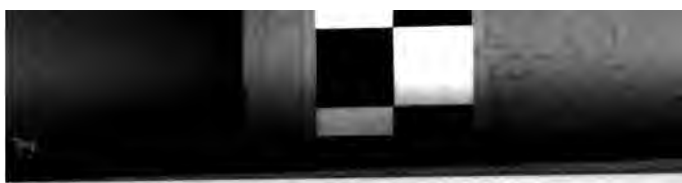
Chamberlain was a Massachusetts man well educated and a graduate of Yale, who had served honorably on the Union side as a lieutenant of colored volunteers during the war. Stationed on duty at the South Carolina coast, he was attracted by the climate and surroundings of that favored region, and, after his military service was over, pursued, though unsuccessfully, a planting venture in the Sea Island cotton. Anti-slavery in sentiment and with a living to make as a farmer's son, he settled here a Republican after a natural fashion, hoping to proselyte the State and uplift civilians of the race whom he had drilled and disciplined as soldiers. Far different, therefore, in tastes and habits from coarse fellow-whites such as made up here the usual element of carpet-baggers, his constant aim, in the political career which soon absorbed him almost in spite of himself, under an alliance of negroes and white new-comers against the old aristocracy of landed proprietors, was to advance the cause of righteousness and human brotherhood. Bitterly did he deplore the crass ignorance, rascality and corruption which he saw uppermost as early as 1871 in the party which ruled the State.¹ And he set out after his election as governor in 1874, to give South Carolina a dignified and honest government, and not the hypocritical semblance of one expected from his past affiliations in politics, both by the people of intelligence and property who had opposed and by most of the old gang who supported him at the polls.²

Chamberlain's course in the Executive chair was in full keeping with his promises. Clashing at once with the corruptionists of his party, black and white, he showed the mettle of a reformer. In South Carolina legislatures elected judges, and for a vacancy which had occurred in the Charleston district the party Republicans put up a

¹ "You may imagine the chagrin with which I make this statement. Truth alone compels it. . . I am a Republican by habit, by conviction, by association, but my republicanism is not, I trust, composed solely of equal parts of ignorance and rapacity." Letter of May 5, 1871, quoted in VII. Rhodes, 147. ² VII. Rhodes, 161.

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negro politician, W. J. Whipper, a man who of the law except as a transgressor. The new tended a preliminary meeting of the legislature inations were discussed, and by his forceful promoted the election of another and decent upon whom reform Republican and Conservatives united. A defeat, somewhat later, of the ex-Governor Moses for a circuit judgeship was also brought about by Chamberlain's for trial justices he named Conservatives in where Republicans well qualified were not to He disbanded companies of the colored State se men and officers had behaved lawlessly in a . He frustrated a scheme of party corrup-the legislature to remove the State treasurer, light mulatto of ability and good reputation. with effect nineteen bills of plunder voted by us majority of the two Houses. He refused to x and supply bill because of its extravagance ed of enactment. On the whole, his official



South Carolina, as in the old days of the Revolution here commemorated. "I offer to my fellow-citizens," he exclaimed, "the fraternal, patriotic greeting of South Carolina, now once more marching to the music of that Union that the blood of her sons had helped to cement."¹ Chamberlain walked erect, this day of hallowed memories, in the light of his fire and in the sparks that he had kindled. A noble throb must have stirred his heart to be in his own person the accredited minister of peace and restored good feeling between States whose ways and opinions had so widely diverged in the century intervening. But if so he was self-deceived. Reverse the picture, and ask ourselves whether Massachusetts, whose traditionary pride surely equalled that of the Palmetto State, would have committed far her political future to a newcomer from South Carolina whose military service wounded her sentiments, and who held Executive power fortuitously by an alliance at the polls of dense ignorance and rascality, as opposed to the better elements of society, however manful might be his struggle, thus handicapped, to bring honest rule uppermost. Or whether such a governor, going back home to South Carolina to celebrate a Revolutionary Centennial, such as the battle of Camden, would have borne with him for a fraternal demonstration the hearty credentials of a State whose inmost disposition must have been, while gratefully accepting such intermediate good as he might be able to accomplish, to throw off that whole cursed burden of an interloping set for which he stood, and regain home rule under home citizens whose past had been in accord with State traditions and aspirations. That Chamberlain had other troubles in store for him with the crew of miscreants he tried to discipline will appear later in this narrative.²

Other Southern States in those years—Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Florida,—though nominally readmitted, passed through much tribulation before regaining a

¹ VII. Rhodes, 165.

² See Section V., *post*.

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self-government. Corruption and extravagance, among capitalists for building railroads upon a weak financial basis, helped out by corruption and the bribery of negro legislators and instigators to borrow the credit of the State; taxes and a public debt heaped up to an aggregate bankruptcy—all these stirred citizens who were in each State to combine for ridding themselves of tyranny, under the mask of Republicanism, which sucked the very life-blood out of politics. Southerners born and bred were not of the present combination majority. If fraud was at the polls that was a game which both sides played; and doubtless the charges far and wide against that native Democrats—"White Leaguers," or by whatever other name they might be known—won frequently at the local polls by violence, intimidation or even murder towards negroes had some foundation. If racial riots broke out they were pretty sure to get the worst of it; yet, as

burden upon the shoulders of a military President whose popularity might bear a heavy weight. What the more unscrupulous among these statesmen sought was to maintain still and build up a Republican party at the South, with the help of the United States army and civil patronage, so as to secure at all hazards the electoral vote of 1876. Grant started as President to deal fairly and justly by the conquered section; and, until the autumn of 1874, except for the unwise choice he made as between the contesting governments in Louisiana, he had shown moderation and discretion for the most part. But at that time, and when the important mid-term elections were pending, he directed the United States troops of occupation to interfere and assist United States marshals in the elections of these States. Such orders were issued through Williams, the Attorney General, under color of a constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," but Democrats and moderate Republicans at the North believed and asserted that Grant did this for managing the elections in the national interest of himself and the regulars of the Republican party. Stalwart Republican leaders who were bent on winning by fair means or foul were closest in his confidence, and 80,000 office-holders were in league with them. Moreover, Grant was suspected, not without good foundation, of promoting by such means a third-term ambition for himself.¹

A singular change of the Presidential mind in the case of Arkansas is in point. Disappointing election returns showed that this State had gone Democratic with others in the resurrected section. In the spring of 1874, following a disputed election of 1872, Joseph Brooks and Elisha Baxter, the respective heads of two Republican factions in Arkansas, were in armed collision as to which of them was the rightful governor. On May 15, the President recognized Baxter—this time preferring the contestant on the side of internal peace and order, as he had not for Louisiana.

¹ VII. Rhodes, 85, 86.

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domination came quickly to an end, a convention was called, and under Baxter's friendly lead a government of intelligence and public virtue was firmly installed, the constitution eagerly adopted by the people, by the election of a Democratic governor, A. H. Reavis, prominent in after years at Washington, with a majority of the Senate and Congressmen of the same party. In February, 1875, President Grant sent a message to Congress, claiming that Brooks instead of Reavis had been the lawfully elected governor in 1872, and asking leave to overturn the present government of Kansas and reverse all that had been done there by the decision of May. He took direct issue with the committee, headed by Judge Poland, which had decided that no such interference was advisable; but the President was equal to the occasion, carried enough Republicans with him to adopt his resolution, and effected the President's move to compel by sword what had been attempted by the pocket-book.¹ We should note, in this connection, in connection with the pocket-bag rule at the South, now nearly at an

of State and sectional recuperation, cheerful through all discouragement. Men, once haughty slave-owners and contemptuous of personal labor, sought to repair their broken fortunes as opportunity offered. Always tender and chivalrous towards women who moved in their own social sphere, they kept wives, daughters, mothers and sisters sheltered safe at home, while husbands, brothers and sons procured outside the means of living. Young men of pedigree who had been brought up to indolence and pleasure found employment as clerks, brokers, car conductors—wherever, for the time being at least, they might earn an honest support. Graduates of Annapolis Academy who had once held naval rank under commissions from the United States now served as captains of private coasting vessels or took command of passenger steamers which plied from one home port to another. Farmers and plantation owners coaxed subsistence from an impoverished soil with their own hands, while labor conditions continued in disorder. All now were poor together at the South and pride with foolish ostentation was cast aside.

The first impulse of these brave people had been, when war was over, to gain capital from outside for a new agricultural and industrial development. In view of the speedy reconstruction looked for in 1865 Northern wealth and energy had passed the threshold; but with reunion set back by Congress, first essays found unsuccessful and the only available labor in this section utterly disorganized, capital from outside had been driven away. For six years or more the Southern people staggered under heavy burdens, financial, industrial and political, which retarded their progress and repelled all external aid. But they bore their disappointments with patient endurance and by 1872 were already struggling upward to a firm position.¹

The plantation negro, too, at first disposed to loaf and play politics in his new freedom had begun working again either upon wages or so as to share with the landowner

¹ DeLeon in 48 Harper's, 270.

Childish in methods he needed intelli-

Staple products under such combination
lily; sugar, tobacco and rice still made a
to be sure, but the cotton crop about this
a wonderful expansion. Fruit cultivation
een started in Florida. The heaviest loss
ers had sustained by war—slaves, of course,
been in cattle and live stock. Wise leaders

H. Hill advised fellow-citizens to make
rth a surplus product, raising the needful
first of all, and then selling cotton outside as
t a given time might justify.¹

outh was by 1872 projecting cotton mills,
saw mills, all to be erected on home soil.
sed new coal fields in the region of Birning-
available for the new railroad industries,
various parts of the South. For commerce
the North still had much the advantage:
lly monopolized the carrying trade of the
ntrolled the market prices of the chief

administration. The failure of civil service reform, at length obvious, the bad appointments and favoritism, the meddlesome iron hand he showed in Southern politics at New Orleans and elsewhere, the dread of a "third term" incumbrance which he did nothing by letter or orally to dissipate—all this moreover in a prolonged season of dull depression in business—combined to make Grant's new administration unpopular widely before it had gone half-way. And to offset such occasion for criticism there was nothing whatever but his courageous veto of the inflation bill, nor was the full bearing of that action more than dimly apprehended. For the Congress whose first session closed on the 23d of June, 1874, settled nothing upon the issue of financial relief, but left all further remedies and contrivance postponed indefinitely.

The fall elections of 1873 had shown light voting and much Republican apathy. Dislike of moneyed monopolies and the railway magnates unified rural denizens of the north-western agricultural States in an interested opposition of their own. Farmers had here formed, about the Spring of 1871, a chain of associations, styled "Patrons of Husbandry" or "Grangers," starting with Iowa and extending as far eastward as Ohio, and southward through Tennessee into the northern portions of Mississippi and Alabama. At a national convention of the order which was held at St. Louis, February 4, 1874, nearly 12,000 subordinate granges were reported, having an aggregate membership of nearly a million, whose distribution was through ninety-two States and two territories.¹

The avowed purpose of this organization was protective rather than political. What Grangers sought to accomplish was mainly to compel the railroads to reduce their rates for farm products seeking a market, and most of all, to prevent unjust discrimination in the freights. Yet political methods were used to advance such ends; and,

¹ Harper's, April, 1874.

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with the Democrats in 1873, they elected a legislature in Wisconsin, reduced the Republicans in Iowa and Minnesota and displayed strength in Illinois and Kansas.¹

At the session of Congress lately adjourned, the bill made a decided impression in the House. A new committee was here constituted, of which George W. Hoar of Iowa, a member of rising prominence,² was appointed chairman. About January, 1874, he introduced a bill to regulate inter-State commerce by the appointment of commissioners who should fix rates for freight and passengers. The House passed the bill in March; but there for the present the bill was to be revivd in a later era. Railroad rate laws were already in force in Iowa, Minnesota and Wis-

consin. States held constitutional conventions during 1873, to revise the local fundamental law—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Ohio in

in the negative. A new Civil Rights bill, which had passed the Senate, and was still pending in Congress,¹ nearly all the Democratic conventions which were held during the canvass, denounced severely, while the "third-term" apparition which had loomed up portentously was exorcised like Cæsar's ghost. Both Vermont and Maine started off this year, choosing Republican governors by good majorities; but when it came to the October States alarming defeats were sustained both in Ohio and Indiana; Democrats carrying the former State by about 20,000 and the latter by 15,000. In Arkansas the conservative ticket prevailed so overwhelmingly, that the Brooks party there was annihilated. And when the November elections followed through the whole country, twenty-three States showed an amazing reaction against Grant's administration, and the ruling set in Congress.

In New York State General Dix, who was respected personally by all in his old age and had made an excellent governor, lost a re-election by figures the close antipodes of his majority of 50,000 or more in 1872, showing that about that number of voters in the State had since changed their minds in politics; and Samuel J. Tilden was chosen over him, a Democrat whose zealous activity in the Tweed ring prosecutions of New York City stamped him as a political reformer. In Massachusetts, William Gaston, a Democrat, won as governor, though its annual legislature remained Republican. Pennsylvania went Democratic on a list of the lesser State officers and chose twelve Democratic Congressmen to the next House. A decisive victory for the Democrats in Missouri presaged the defeat of Schurz, the Liberal, for re-election to the Senate.

A growing disgust of the people with present misrule explained this political overturn; and likewise the general repugnance towards a third term, such as Conkling and other stalwart Republicans had pressed in course of the

¹ It had passed the Senate, May 23, 1874, soon after Sumner's death, in the shape of a final legacy he had bestowed on his death-bed. See *post*.

by Forney with his "Kitchen organ" and partisans in South Carolina and Florida. The winning response at the polls gave that project no end. Grant had betrayed at least a tacit such a distinction, and opponents declared he never meant to leave the White House until his out feet foremost. A break in the Presidential session was now inevitable. To Democrats an end was disclosed in the new deal to be afforded; to the Republicans it was due not so much to themselves as to the Republican ranks.¹

For Congress in this campaign prevailed a personal character and independence. Garfield was elected to the House as a mark of confidence after his defeat, and Charles Foster was made to defeat him, and Charles Foster was a foe of corruption, was also rechosen. Sumner, a citizen of tried integrity, whether in politics, was one of the delegation for New York. Sumner, Massachusetts, Banks, who was now a avowed Democrat, went back to Congress.

1866 to run for Congress a pseudo-Republican, a Republican resident of that district, the adjutant general of the State, who had faithfully served through the Civil War and to whom Governor Andrew penned a tribute as his last official act, opposed his candidacy in an open letter; and Butler followed up his success at the polls by demanding the summary removal of that adjutant general, which Bullock, the new governor, was weak enough to grant. In the next canvass for Congress in 1868, a bolt of opposing Republicans was organized, whose candidate was Richard H. Dana, a lawyer of high attainments and social standing who had been district attorney under President Lincoln. Butler again won and took his revenge some years later, when Grant nominated Dana for minister to England, by lobbying in the Senate and procuring Dana's rejection. But the Massachusetts opposition to Butler within the party gained gradual strength with the Simmons incident,¹ under the persevering lead of the two Hoar brothers; the Judge, who served one term in Congress, stigmatizing him as "the Tichborne claimant,"² while George F. quoted a characterization of "swagger, quarrel, failure." All this bore upon Butler's present defeat; in connection with which both Dawes and Boutwell, who had courted or at least tolerated his good will, lost caste to some extent. Dawes for the present failed to gain the seat left vacant in the Senate by Sumner's death which he had desired; while Boutwell, who had been serving for Wilson's unexpired term, lost a re-election and left public life; George F. Hoar supplanting him in 1877, to serve among the most famous in that branch of Congress for the rest of his life.³

Congress reassembled for a final session, Dec. 7, 1874, its majority undaunted by the disappointing election

¹ See the Simmons incident, *supra*, p. 229.

² In allusion to a famous English prosecution at this time of an Australian butcher who made fraudulent personation as the missing heir to a large landed estate in the mother country.

³ Newspapers; author's recollections.

ady as always to take up constructive legisla-
firm hand. This was the winter of de Tro-
and's swoop upon the Louisiana legislature;
Sheridan's "banditti" despatch; of investiga-
nter-investigation at New Orleans by House
ent on from Washington.¹ The President, in
message, boldly defended what he had done in
and upholding the Kellogg government of
d avowed it to be his solemn duty to protect
negroes in their lawful exercise of the suffrage
"Ku-Klux" or "White League" outrage for
ntimidation. The recent election of Cham-
vernor of South Carolina by a large major-
d black combined, gave party managers at
good reason to hope that the electoral vote
e, at least, of the lost Confederacy would
ast for a Republican President and Vice-

ent's message advocated an early return to
ents and Secretary Bristow in his Treasury

its declared purpose when the time came are chiefly due. Sherman's expert knowledge of finance and the prominent position he held as chairman of the Senate committee on that subject made him the recognized leader at the capitol in the present legislation. He was a compromiser by instinct and the act itself was somewhat of a compromise as he framed it, for it left the reissue of retired greenbacks in the future an open question, so as to harmonize the support of inflationists and contractionists in either House; and moreover, while providing for free banking, as western members wished, it undertook that government's greenbacks should be withdrawn, to a fixed extent, as fast as national bank notes could supply their place. The fractional paper currency of war times was under this statute to be replaced by small coins.

As chairman of a very able committee of the Senate which represented the diverse party views held on this whole perplexing subject, Sherman brought his colleagues to adjust their differences in a spirit of patriotic concession, and the present act, whatever its shortcomings, met fully in the end the essential purpose intended, because of the methods under its sanction. Sherman himself, as Secretary of the Treasury under the next succeeding administration, showed skill and adhesiveness, and, by making good use of the opportunities this compromise measure afforded him when business revived, accomplished the financial end long desired. When January 1, 1879, arrived, the highway of specie resumption was successfully reached without distress or sacrifice worth mentioning. For all this Sherman's name deserves enrolment among America's great deliverers from the slough of business despond with Hamilton and Dallas of earlier days.¹

Steps needful to increase the public revenue were also taken in course of this brief session upon the advice of Secretary Bristow. A new act which passed both Houses raised the existing tax on tobacco and spirits and certain other matters of excise. This was styled the "little tariff";

¹ See VII. Rhodes, 69-73.

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ly escaped defeat.¹ No other tariff act later session appears to have passed Congress until

the House, as we have seen, declined to President to throw troops into Arkansas, as for putting the Brooks faction back in power. His change of mind,³ Grant and the radical in unison got a stringent force bill through representatives' chamber which expressly authorized it to suspend *habeas corpus* in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama until March, 1877. Early a project for securing to the Republican electoral votes of Southern States in 1876 as needful to choose a Republican President, rats would win if they had but fifty Northern s besides the solid South. This bill passed the considerable majority, though some of the fairest Republicans voted against it.⁴ Forfeited the Senate too late for ample discussion. 4th of March brought this session to a close

of the President. Discarding the Senate bill which was pending here at the former adjournment,¹ the House in February took up a measure of its own reported from the Judiciary Committee by Butler, its chairman, who championed its progress through that body. Despite all doubts expressed of its legality the Senate majority concurred with the House in its passage, and the bill became a law on the first of March.² Its main intent was to give all negroes equal rights with the white man in public conveyances and at theatres and other places of public amusement. In such respects the act was by 1883 pronounced unconstitutional and void by the Supreme Court, since the rights whose guaranty was here attempted were not so much civil rights as social rights, and hence were among residuary matters left to the discretion of individual States, which the Union as a whole had no power to regulate.³

In the course of a House debate in January, 1874, upon the earlier civil rights bill, a dramatic scene had occurred, which spectres of our earlier statesmen who had ¹⁸⁷⁴been eminent in Congress—were any such fitting ^{January}about the chamber—must have gazed upon with astonishment and dismay. Alexander H. Stephens, of “cornerstone” fame,⁴ Vice-President of the late Confederacy, now sat among Union colleagues here for the rest of his life, a sadder and wiser man, with all his former impetuosity gone as a Parliamentarian; gently disposed and treated well henceforth by men of all parties. Boyish still in looks during his old age but pale of aspect, he was so frail and feeble that he sat in a wheeled chair which he would propel with his hands about the chamber. He argued on the present occasion against legislation of this

¹ *Supra*, p. 265.

² Act March 1, 1875, c. 114.

³ VII. Rhodes, 90, 91; 109 U. S. 3. As to public conveyances for interstate travelling, however, the court gave no opinion, that question not being presented in the case. Another provision of this act, to prevent negroes from being disqualified for juries, seems to have raised no contest.

⁴ See VI. Schouler, 60.

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general government. All men he conceded, and equal in certain respects, but he did not hold the doctrine that all races were on an equality. The cause of our civil strife in the past had been the African race; but that "thorn in the flesh," so long a source of irritation between these States, was now passing away, and all time to come. "And since," he continued, "the prejudices which attended the conflict are passing away, the period has now arrived when the descendants of a common ancestry, in all the sections of this country, to return to the original position of their fathers, with the hopeful prospect of a brighter career in the future than any heretofore known in the past. On such return depends, in the end, not only the liberties of the white and colored races of this continent but the best hopes of man-

had spoken with much earnestness and discretion. The position he took on this delicate issue was repeated the next day by Robert B. Elliott, who represented South Carolina district, a resolution, offered

prayer of Ruth: "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." ¹

To spectators who looked down from the gallery upon this singular strife of words between a former master and a former slave it seemed as though a new racial epoch had already opened in our public experience; but time demonstrates that it was only an episode of national politics, already passing and soon to be forgotten. ²

By one of the final acts of the forty-third Congress, Colorado territory was authorized to form a constitution and government and prepare for statehood. The admission of that new State into the Union took effect ^{1875,} by August, 1876, in good season for Colorado to ^{March 3,} cast three electoral votes for the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President; a momentous circumstance, as we shall see, in the outcome of that eventful year. ³

Important changes took place in Grant's cabinet during the interval which preceded the assembling of another Congress. Williams, the Attorney General, resigned in April and was succeeded by Judge Edwards Pierrepont of New York. The selection was a good one, and the cabinet as now constituted, with four strong men such as April- Fish, Bristow, Jewell and Pierrepont, abounded in September. safe counsellors, could only the President have kept it unaltered. But this conjunction did not last long. Delano, at the close of September, retired from the Interior

¹ Cong. Globe, Jan. 6, 1874.

² Author's recollections; 2 J. W. Forney's Anecdotes, 313. Elliott resigned from the House not long after this to become a sheriff and was afterwards the speaker of the House in South Carolina. He was an unsuccessful candidate for attorney general of the State in 1876 on the Chamberlain ticket. He drifted later to Louisiana and was never again prominent in public life, as focused here at Washington. Notwithstanding his great talent at oratory he appears to have been something of a rogue in moral character. See N. Y. Nation, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 1876.

³ Act March 3, 1875.

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as its Secretary, overborne by abuses in the
der his charge which he could not rectify.
ceeded in October by Zachariah Chandler of
who had lately lost his long hold upon his
gh the party misfortunes. This choice turned
of Grant's administration in a dangerous
rection; for Chandler, though highly efficient
in transacting the public business, and a man
y to be tempted to personal corruption, was
adical in political sympathy and the more so
rounds were fresh which conservatives of his
ican party had inflicted upon him in Michigan.¹
e said to his credit that he worked with energy
uccess to bring his Department into good con-
that, without pretending to be a believer
tical civil service but rather the reverse, he
those under him to an honest and strict per-
correcting largely the abuses which had grown
s predecessor. Whatever Chandler undertook,
business or politics, was performed with an

reaching definite results. In October, 1873, the *Virginus*, a filibustering steamer, American built, which was bound to that island from Jamaica, with war material on board and insurgent passengers, was sighted by a Spanish war steamer, and after a brisk pursuit captured and brought into Santiago de Cuba. Of the prisoners taken, many among the crew and passengers were, by early November, condemned to death by a summary court-martial and shot, and among these were eight American citizens. There was great excitement in this country when the news arrived: indignation meetings were held in New York City and elsewhere, and our government was urged to take violent measures against Spain on behalf of Cuban independence. Fish managed the situation with delicate tact and discretion; Castelar, who was then in authority at Madrid, deplored that bloodshed for which the Spanish Captain-general in Havana, without his own knowledge or sanction, was directly to blame; and a fit reparation was soon arranged as between Spain and the United States. On December 16 of this same year the *Virginus*, with an American flag flying, was delivered by the Spanish Admiral Polo to the American Navy at Cuba; and on the 18th the surviving prisoners were surrendered, all of whom reached New York in safety. Indemnity was arranged by Spain for the families of those Americans who had suffered death. Singularly enough, the restored vessel, encountering a storm off the North Carolina coast while making passage to New York, went to the bottom of the ocean; while the stars and stripes, whose insult by Spanish capture had been much insisted upon at our first outburst of popular wrath, proved to have been improperly carried if carried at all; and hence a salute of the flag by the Spanish admiral had been dispensed with by mutual consent when the steamer was given up.¹

Sickles was not enough of a diplomatist to handle this

¹ VII. Rhodes, 29-36, at length. The flag "insulted" appears to have been no American flag at all, but a piece of bunting of doubtful symbolism. N. Y. Nation, March 18, 1875.

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ly at Madrid, and his effort being apparently his country in a hasty war with Spain rather than a settlement, differences between him and the government led to his resignation; and in early 1874 he went as minister to Spain in his place. He did much to restore good feeling between the two countries which had come so nearly into armed collision. This was Cushing's last appearance in public life, and he returned to his Massachusetts home, early in 1879, soon after coming from Europe with his present mission. A man of untiring industry and brilliant achievements of a versatile character, as lawyer, diplomatist and occasional writer, and more- over one of the very few officers from New England who had volunteered soldiers to the Mexican war—he had figured for nearly half a century in the public life of his country in one capacity or another, and did much excellent work. He skirted on the edge of parties and was more the counsellor of statesmen than a partisan.

ments wherever this tax could be evaded in some way. Government, by round estimates had been defrauded of about \$2,786,000 in the course of six years to 1875, during which John McDonald held office as supervisor of internal revenue and was partaker in the corruption. A campaign fund, in the interest of the Republican party and Grant's re-election to office, made the ostensible purpose of assessments levied by him from time to time upon the favored distillers, but much of the money doubtless swelled the profits of official members of this ring, including McDonald himself, whose political outlays in coarse and boisterous entertainment alone were considerable.

Besides breaking up this ring the painful duty devolved upon Secretary Bristow to bring the past offenders in government employ to justice. With the co-operation of Pierrepont, the Attorney General, and a capable solicitor of the Treasury, Bluford Wilson, Bristow secured the indictment and conviction of four corrupt officials besides a St. Louis journalist. But in working up the evidence, he ascertained that Babcock, a confidential adviser and private secretary of the President,¹ had been a member of the whiskey ring and a sharer in its profits. Upon an official letter hinting his unwelcome discovery, Grant, who was then passing his usual summer vacation at Long Branch, made the indorsement "Let no guilty man escape," and ordered Bristow's search for facts to continue. Public sentiment throughout the land was profoundly roused by those ringing words of the President and became fastened intently upon the exposure which the newspapers soon spread abroad. But the President's mood toward Babcock changed very quickly; his sympathy for household friends and those in particular who were bound to him by the ties of military comradeship rose always superior to a stern sense of justice; and, likely enough, his private secretary made some explanation in confidence which satisfied him.

¹ Babcock had been Grant's officious negotiator in the San Domingo scheme of annexation. *Supra*, p. 164.

Orville S. Babcock.

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our Chief Executive's ardor for pushing a
f the guilty cooled presently, and when in
75, Babcock was indicted in St. Louis with
ties accused of a conspiracy to defraud the
nt became first covertly and then openly
e prosecution. Incensed by an exaggerated
x-Senator John B. Henderson, whom govern-
ed at St. Louis as special counsel in these
one of his pleas made insinuations reflecting
President's honor he caused his immediate
n service.¹ He also caused Attorney General
send a circular letter which warned accom-
against giving testimony at the trials in the
ing immunity for their own wrong-doing.²
his the President, in February, 1876, made,
abcock's trial, a solemn deposition at the
before Chief Justice Waite, to the effect, not
that he had never himself known, directly or
tly, that any funds for political purposes

and a verdict of not guilty was the result. Babcock resumed his duties at the White House after his acquittal; but public opinion soon compelled his withdrawal from that post of confidence, for many of the people still believed, and upon the facts in evidence had good reason to believe, that the charges against that officer were true.¹

Grant's settled dislike of this whole pursuit of whiskey ring culprits by the Treasury became manifest. Three of the offenders found guilty he pardoned after about six months' imprisonment, and McDonald, the leader in the frauds, by January, 1877. Toward Bristow he froze in official intercourse and the resentment he felt was cherished to the last. He accepted that faithful Secretary's resignation on the first opportunity, gave out that zeal for a Presidential nomination had been the real motive of his prosecutions, and when it came to the selection of a party candidate to succeed himself, stated that he preferred any one else rather than Bristow. Yet in all this Grant was doubtless clear of dishonest purpose. No one who really knew him believed him other than innocent of connivance or participation in any criminal wrong-doing, and at heart thoroughly honest.² Recreancy in respect of appropriating public money for private enrichment has never yet been justly imputed to any President of the United States nor to a Secretary of the Treasury. But Grant's moral discrimination was blunt and his perceptions of official propriety far from clear while he held his exalted station. He had allowed McDonald, whose government salary was only \$3000 a year, to pay the whole Presidential bill incurred on a ten days' visit to St. Louis, in 1874, and had accepted from him with bland acknowledgment the gift of a pair of horses that won his admira-

Hecker, McGinnis, Abner

30- S. R. Hoar

¹ See, at length, VII. Rhodes, 183-189.

² "I would as soon think St. Paul had got some of the thirty pieces of silver," was the comment of Judge Hoar, who had a keen insight into character and saw much of Grant during these years. VII. Rhodes, 188.

McDonald didn't believe so. But Rhodes says he didn't make out a case vs. Smith.

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with a costly outfit of wagon, harness and asking a whence or a wherefore.¹ observed, in one of his Treasury reports: laws nor regulations, however stringent, will give the desired results, without faithful officers to execute them."² Both ruler and the ruled in this season anew to ponder over this expression. Shortly after Babcock's acquittal, a new revelation was revealed at Washington in the Executive Order which opened the disgust of plain and honest citizens against the corrupting administration.

SECTION IV.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

The most and greatest centennial anniversaries of our country's resistance and independence in these colonies, were celebrated during the years 1875

those two cities, both so typical still of Revolutionary traditions and, with all their present wealth and prosperity, preservers of the old buildings and old surroundings where fame immortal was born and cradled.

On a clear Sunday evening, April 18, 1875, the chimes of Christ Church in Boston (the "Old North") pealed at sunset; and when it grew dark the tall spire which from Copp's Hill overlooked the water towards Charlestown and Cambridgeport, displayed first one lighted lantern and then another,¹ to a crowd of native Americans of both sexes, that filled that night, unwonted, the narrow streets about the venerable edifice, which were now tenanted mostly by foreigners among whom Italians were gaining pre-eminence. A full congregation of ~~both sexes~~ attended the evening service which was held in this quaint temple, soon after. During the next day the 19th, which was raw and inclement, with a very cold wind, a host of visiting spectators moved upon Concord and Lexington, in countless numbers, quite an unexpected revelation to those who had the arrangements in charge in those prim and usually sedate towns and had not prepared for entertaining such a multitude with or without a miracle. At the station in Boston the railroad equipment for the little branch spur of track reaching these towns was so inadequate that crowded trains moved back and forth as they might, regardless of schedule time; while from the horse-car terminus at Arlington people journeyed on foot or by whatever conveyance might offer to and from the historic spots in Lexington and Concord, where a hubbub view was afforded of the ceremonies going on. President Grant and lesser choice dignitaries of the nation were among the invited guests in a canvas pavilion at Lexington, of which few comparatively among the shivering sight-seers got even a good glimpse, in the elbowing multitude of hungry and thirsty gazers. Judges and other citizens of

¹ "One if by land and two if by sea,
And I on the opposite shore will be."
Paul Revere's Ride (Longfellow).

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be seen that afternoon, riding in ox carts or in order to get back home, impressing for whatever chance vehicle some townsman might for love or money. At Concord, where once farmers stood "and fired the shot heard 'round the world," a fine statue of the ideal minute man by [unveiled].¹ On the 17th of June, with better [and in finer weather Bunker Hill's battle [ed]; and a grand military pageant of Massachusetts soldiers moved through Boston's principal [ired by crowds of spectators in doors and [g those here taking part the most unique figure was that of a Democratic Governor and [in-chief on horseback; a rare spectacle, then, [assachusetts, for the genial and capable Gaston, [but a single year, with a Republican council [are to hinder him from accomplishing any- [verthrown at the polls in November and an [the familiar Republican sort succeeded him

whole nation. The moving utterances of John Adams and Patrick Henry, and those glowing maxims from the pen of Jefferson, in a bygone century, reached hearers or readers in their day among the people with redoubled force, because they who exhorted were Revolutionists themselves by example, urging brethren to dare and strive with them. And so, too, a generation just emerging from the toil and sacrifice of a long and bloody conflict, whose political relations among themselves as brethren reunited were far yet from a final solution, could not readily adjust itself to the reverent mood desirable toward distant ancestors of a like heroic experience. The pathos of actual suffering and sacrifice must always be deeper than the pathos of tribute. Yet these centennial celebrations of 1875 and 1876 accomplished something towards ennobling the American spirit among ourselves; and the age that reveres and worships may come hereafter with stirring memories of the glorious past, to inspire to high deeds for the future a living present.

After an autumn among whose chief events were the last gasp of expiring satrapy in Mississippi and the Moody and Sankey religious revival, the forty-fourth Congress gathered at Washington on the 6th day of December, to remain there in session for more than eight months. A novel situation was here presented; the House ^{1875, Dec. 6-} was controlled by Democrats and insurgents, ^{1876, Aug. 15.} while the Senate still stood unflinchingly Republican. And under such auspices opened the year 1876, for its greatest centennial celebration of the Revolutionary epoch, with a remarkable and nearly fateful Presidential election in November.

The Senate, though still dominated by the Republicans in national supremacy, showed 25 of the old members retired by March, 1875, 17 of whom were Republicans, 3 Independents and 5 Democrats. There were 22 new Senators at the present assembling; and among them were Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts (chosen at last for the new term which followed Sumner's death), Francis

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New York, and Francis M. Cockrell of Missouri two being Democrats in party faith, and successor of Schurz, who moved to the east, serving in public life with a constituency. Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's earliest associate friend, was re-elected from Maine, and Thomas C. Blount, a rising Democrat, from Delaware. General John W. Foster represented Rhode Island; Angus Cameron of Wisconsin to supersede Matt H. Carpenter, and Isaac Christiancy took Chandler's place from New York. The Republican majority in the Senate was 23 in all.

Johnson, as we have seen, had died in the summer of 1865. One of the newly chosen Senators to this term was Wilson, the Vice-President of the present term, who died to the grave in November. Eulogies for him were read at the capitol in January on separate days. The well-known statesmen had in other days taken a conspicuous part in Senate proceedings when the country was in peril; each had proved honest and uncorrupt.

to lovers of justice. But now admission was made by one of the ablest of such journalists that "his personal integrity was beyond question, and his respect for the laws and the constitution made his administration a remarkable contrast to that which succeeded it." And that editor now conceded that, except for his insistent vetoes, President Johnson's administration was in the main unexceptionable.¹

The House assembled with a Democratic majority of 63. Michael C. Kerr of Indiana was chosen Speaker—a man of pure associations, upright character and an unblemished life, but frail in health; he died soon after this first session ended. Of chairmen of the standing House Committees, half were from Southern States, seven from the West and North-west, two each from New York and Pennsylvania, but none from New England.

With so great a political contrast in the complexion of the two branches of Congress no legislation of consequence was at present possible. Partisans of each House, whether on the majority or minority side, made sharp assault upon the adversary for political effect with the people in the approaching canvass for the Presidency. The "bloody shirt," Southern outrages, with suppression of the negro vote and the late "rascally" election of Democrats in Mississippi, furnished ammunition for attack on the Republican side: Morton leading his party in the Senate debate, while Blaine, the late Speaker, conducted the onset in the House. Both Morton and Blaine began this session as party candidates for the Presidential nomination, and played the game with equal zeal. But Blaine sparred fairly, though quick to take every advantage of his Democratic opponents, while Morton "fouled," to use the pugilistic expression. A bill for full political amnesty being under discussion, Blaine made the dramatic point to except Jefferson Davis, and goaded ex-Confederates sharply; and in a speech on the currency he again drove

¹ N. Y. Nation, August 5, 1875.

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rats, making a brilliant tilt with lance. But no now vaunted the new financial policy of Republicans for speedy resumption, had been one of ardent inflationists in the Senate; while, as to him, he in 1865 heartily applauded President Johnson's policy before coming to Washington,¹ and in a speech produced by Democrats in debate, announced his disapproval of negro suffrage.²

Many Democrats, who held the offensive in the House, were on the defensive in the Senate, the shrewd manœuvres of the popular advantage corresponded. The House rejected down all subsidies. The Representatives made investigations also as opportunity offered. Digging themselves on issues of inflation and the need of great caution and hence they felt the need of great caution and hence matters into caucus. A bill for full and final reconstruction which Randall of Pennsylvania introduced in the Senate during the holidays, was rejected, January 10, failing by a narrow vote. Futile effort was made in this session to legislate for reducing taxes and changing the

a belief that this President did not mean to leave the White House unless forced to go. Grant hitherto silent had announced May 29 of that year, after a long delay, that he was not and had not been a candidate for re-election, but at the same time he thought the people ought to have the right to elect for a third term if they pleased. He had accepted a first term unwillingly, he added, and would not be a candidate again except under circumstances of "imperative duty" not likely to arise.¹ This statement had justified party managers in leaving him out, but its language was equivocal, its tone reluctantly expressed, and it seemed still to leave possibilities open. Hence, to relieve all perplexity, the House, by 232 to 18—men of both parties joining in the affirmative—declared by resolution on the 15th of December against a third term. Demonstrations were later made in this same session for proposing an amendment of the constitution which should debar all Presidential re-elections whatever. A bill passed both Houses limiting \$25,000, as formerly, for the salary of future Presidents, but Grant killed the measure by a veto.²

By this time the unanimity of the people, irrespective of parties, for Grant's retirement from the Presidency at the end of his present term was as hearty as it had been, eight years earlier, to place him there. And, meanwhile, to give point to such acquiescence, the Whiskey Ring drama had scarcely been played out, with the Babcock prosecution and its failure, when a new scandal from within the inner circle of this damaged administration stalked upon the stage. A House committee, while investigating expenditures in the War Department, found at the very threshold, when March opened, that its Secretary and head, availing himself of a recent statute which transferred post traderships to his control from the General of the Army, had given out one of the most

¹ N. Y. Nation, June 3, 1875, and other newspapers; VII. Rhodes, 207.

² Cong. Globe: Harper's, June, 1876.

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of those places on a corrupt understanding for profits. The first Mrs. Belknap's influence had place and she with her husband, the Secretary, had received from the trader who received the appointments amounting in all to about \$20,000 by remittances. The testimony to sustain this was clear and uncontradicted, and the committee's solemn report, on the afternoon of March 2, showed that Secretary Belknap was shown guilty of malfeasance and recommended his impeachment. The House by a unanimous vote adopted a resolution to that effect.¹ Secretary Belknap was well aware of what awaited him at the capitol, and he anticipated the committee's action in the forenoon of March 2, by tendering his resignation to the committee and asking its immediate acceptance. Grant, as well known by this time stood loyally by his friends even at risk of compromising his own reputation or baffling the ends of justice where the interests committed to him were concerned, and he promptly accepted the resignation of his Secretary "with



Belknap's disgrace and fall pointed a moral for official service as offices were then conducted and bestowed. He came to Washington from obscure rural surroundings in the North-west to hold a high position in the cabinet—a man of good military record and good intentions, one who had just been serving upon a small salary as a revenue collector of the government. He entered the gay society of the capital amiable and companionable, bringing with him two sisters one of whom was his wife, both brilliant and beautiful women, and both ambitious to shine and entertain. The wife whose barter of a tradership for reward, in order to support an extravagant style of living for which the salary of Secretary appeared insufficient, died presently, and Belknap made the sister his second wife; being still under the temptation to spend \$30,000 a year for keeping up a lead in administration circles upon a salary of \$8000. So the money needed for social outlay in Washington was taken from army sutlers, and those army sutlers must have leeches well the soldiers and civil dwellers on the plains, to turn over such huge sums to the Secretary's household by way of perquisite, while retaining enough for themselves to eke out a substantial profit. As for using government patronage by way of personal reward or for party ends, the comment seems just, that from levying assessments for political purposes on the meagre pay of office-holders to the selling of offices outright is but a short step which ordinary human nature makes easily. The War Department had not been suspected of guilt by the House committee when it began investigating, and the evidence of Belknap's guilt came to light by the merest accident.¹

Upon Belknap's resignation as Secretary of War, Alphonso Taft of Ohio, a lawyer and judge of good reputation, succeeded him, as head of that Department for ^{March-}about two months, after which he was transferred ^{July-} to the post of Attorney General, vacated by Edwards/
Pierrepont. Pierrepont, respectable but not brilliant, and

¹ See N. Y. Nation, March 9, 1876.

the cabinet circle, as matters stood, was glad to see the mission to Great Britain, which Dana's resignation left open,¹ Schenck having resigned in London and sailed for home in early March. Grant's appointment and confirmation as minister to the transfer of Taft to his post in the cabinet, the War Department now went to J. Donald Cameron, the son and prospective heir in the venerable Simon. Other cabinet changes came in July. *Bristow, whose relations with the President had become quite obviously strained, resigned from the office, and Senator Lot M. Morrill of Maine succeeded him. Marshall Jewell, too, retired as Postmaster-General, well convinced that to run his Department on economic and business principles was practically impossible; he was replaced by James N. Tyner, a party man of the school in politics which better suited the administration. As thus reconstructed, Grant's cabinet continued unchanged while he remained in office.

June 17.

upon its Democratic majority.¹ This rendered "the plumed knight" (as his friend Ingersoll, in an eloquent speech, styled him) of doubtful availability, and while Blaine led on the first ballot and increased his vote greatly as other candidates withdrew, the seventh and final ballot carried Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, its present governor, beyond him with a bare majority of the convention; and that nomination was made unanimous. Of favorite sons from different States, seven had competed for this candidacy; Bristow was supported by reformers of the party until they perceived he had no chance; after which Hayes, as a man of unimpeachable character, with a good civil and military record, drew the convention votes of those who wished to canvass before the people on a plane of high promise. William A. Wheeler of New York, whose estimable qualities were conceded on all hands, won by acclamation the nomination for Vice-President.²

In respect of a personal magnetism which drew thousands for an enthusiastic following, ready to serve him through good or ill report, and in the brilliancy of his onset upon the political foe with shield and glittering lance, Blaine has often been likened to Henry Clay. In many respects, to be sure, they were as wide apart as the poles—in personal character and surroundings; but a striking coincidence is observable in some points of their public experience at differing epochs. Each made his assault of party rhetoric too eagerly for his own safe advancement to the highest prize for which he strove, vulnerable through the powerful enmities he provoked in consequence; each found his favorite arena on the floor of Congress, making a first conspicuous fame as Speaker of the House; each, in one national convention of his party which was

¹ For the circumstances attending this charge, together with the dramatic incidents of the Mulligan letters which Blaine seized and read himself in the House, and also his Sunday swoon upon the steps of a church, see at length VII. Rhodes, 194-206.

² VII. Rhodes, 206-212.

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competitors who might enter, was strongest but failed of selection as the Presidential cause thought vulnerable, so that an Ohio man of moderate ability, who had made noemies and against whom not a word of rebe uttered, bore off the prize from him by consent; and each, when actually accepted byention a few years later, and put before thed both his party and himself to a mortifying polls, largely through his own fault and close contest, the electoral vote of Newent to an opposing candidate of the Demomarge just made in the House against Blaine,onor over some railroad dealings while he was never fully investigated; for about thisne legislature elected him to the Senate to place and he never sat again in the Repreamber.¹

of specie payments and currency reform; a great struggle upon that issue having been fought out in the convention, and the soft money men beaten. The Democratic platform announced by name such leading Republicans as had been identified with extravagance and corruption, and on the whole was more downright and sincere in promising reform for the future than that of the Republicans at Cincinnati.

Under the time-honored Democratic rule which required two-thirds of the delegates for a choice—here 492—Governor Tilden of New York, whose firm grasp upon the convention had directed its procedure from the start, won the nomination for President, receiving 535 votes on the second ballot. With the addition of Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President the ticket was completed, and it was certainly a strong one, comprising the two leading Democrats of the two most essential Northern States. Hendricks appears to have been unsound in financial views, like many other statesmen of the West, whether of one party or the other; but as hard money had dictated the platform and the Presidential candidate, little harm was likely to arise from that circumstance. The action taken this summer by the House at Washington against immediate resumption,¹ showed that Tilden meant to lead his party in a new and safe direction; and this was cause for trusting him. And again, a New York city "boss," named Kelley, of Tammany influence, led the anti-Tildenites in this convention, and the repudiation of that lead by more than two-thirds of the delegates gave another bracing assurance of reform in the interest of the people. Upon the whole, Tilden was now set before the country as the true opposition candidate for all voters who sought good government not within but without the Republican party to unite upon.

Tilden had as strong credentials for popular confidence a record of executive energy, courage and accomplishment in the Empire State rarely equalled in our annals during

496 - in
Stamwood
p. 279.

62471.025

¹ *Supra*, p. 286.

of two short years or less. Long active in
cs without holding political office at all, the
ense aid he had rendered in the exposure and
throw of the Tweed ring in New York city
by spontaneous consent to the governor's
e he showed at once the full mettle of a

He surrounded himself with the best fellow-
of New York State in wisdom and integrity,
er than himself, to aid in the cause of public

His ideas on the great issues of the day
and he showed fearlessness in giving them
ing from municipal reform, in which he dealt a
side-blow to the new Tammany aspirants of
cal politics, he passed quickly to the correction
uses, and in August, 1875, made a speech
r in New York, addressing crowds in various
half of State-wide reforms. With the popular
thus gained at Albany as Executive, he made
sault upon a corrupt canal ring of the State,

forward as the leaders most likely to win on the campaign with their loyal assistance.¹

Congress adjourned, August 15th, long after these two party conventions had been held, and yet in ample season for members to participate in the canvass, which shrewd forecasters in politics already announced ^{August.} would be a vigorous one, bringing close results. Not without hesitation, both parties in the House had united in the passage of a resolution which denounced all Southern outrages upon the negro; while in the Senate, on the other hand, a committee report upon suffrage conditions existing in Mississippi was so one-sided in expression that most of the Republican press as well as the Democratic united in condemning it. Both Houses, however, diverse as was the party sentiment of a majority, came to an agreement on all the appropriation bills.²

Upon one measure—that of appropriating \$1,500,000 towards the great Centennial Exposition planned for Philadelphia—Congress had harmonized, quite early in the session. This sum, when first asked by the promoters, had met with objection; for constitutional scruples stood in the way of such novel assistance, besides the fear that so expansive an enterprise might fail. But after a visit of members to Philadelphia, in December, 1875, all objections to such an appropriation were overcome; Congress found the Exposition well organized and under way, while the press throughout the Union favored a national liberality. When discussion was resumed after the holidays, this bill passed both Houses, and on the 16th of February the President signed it with a quill from the wing of an American eagle, shot in Oregon.³

That Centennial Exposition of 1876, held at Philadelphia, deserves a lasting remembrance in our annals.

¹ Newspapers; VII. Rhodes, 212–214.

² N. Y. Nation, etc., Aug. 17, 1876.

³ Harper's, April, 1876; Act February 16, 1876, c. 10.

on the 10th of May and closed on the 10th

The total admissions during those six
as figured 9,900,000; a number far exceeding
iginal expectation and confirming the enter-
ssful from a pecuniary point of view, as it
he strong patriotic feeling which it inspired
t beholders of this continent.

course of 100,000 people the Exhibition was
ed on the appointed day, with an address
t Grant, whom Emperor Dom Pedro of
setting the machinery in motion by starting
orliss engine on the premises, whose pulsa-
rth while those six months lasted marked
of this marvellous creation. Wagner had
arch for the occasion; and Whittier's Cen-
a noble production, was sung by a choir of
voices. The restored South greeted the
old flag, in the patriotic stanzas of Sidney
eorgia poet. Other simple but impressive



The Exposition was held in Fairmount Park, beyond the Schuylkill, upon a level plot of land comprising two hundred acres or more, where appropriate buildings had been erected in pleasing variety, several foreign governments and twenty-six States putting up structures of their own. Five enormous erections rose in towering grandeur, known as the Main Buildings, with Machinery, Agricultural, Horticultural and Memorial Halls. The last named, beautifully designed and built of granite at a cost of \$1,500,000 to the State and city, was left standing after the Exposition was over, as a permanent dedication to art and a historic landmark of this centenary for coming generations.

Not Americans only, but European tourists besides, were among the sight-seers of these six months in the sedate city of hospitalities. But the pilgrim throngs came chiefly from among those in the four quarters of this re-united national confederacy, who felt that as fellow-countrymen they stood together on hallowed ground. Other centennial expositions on an international scale, to commemorate great American events, have followed this earliest one at Philadelphia and will follow hereafter: but none have yet appealed or are likely to appeal so directly to the American heart by combining associations of the past with those of a historical present as this earliest of them all. Chicago, with its "white city" of a fairy land, and St. Louis, too, enhanced later the pictorial beauty of sumptuous architecture and arrangement by effects in electrical lighting and conveyance which in 1876 were as yet unknown; and so, too, in the constant march of human invention, commemorative exhibitions held later still may boast other and newer accessories of wonder and delight, which from our own generation are hidden. But in this metropolis of Pennsylvania the immortal past was itself visible and reproduced, as in an old world, and a host of venerating descendants from Revolutionary heroes were reminded everywhere of Philadelphia's dignity and simplicity, as the chief city of all those thirteen United Colo-

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Independence was boldly proclaimed in 1776 as the notes rang out from the old liberty bell. It had grown immensely in wealth and population in the course of a hundred years, and yet its Quakerism had not greatly changed. Its old buildings of stone, still reverently preserved, harmonized well with the new which had grown up since, and the past came down into the present.¹

Visible exhibits of scientific and educational progress, of musical and mechanical advancement, of native and foreign goods and minerals, native or from other lands, might be witnessed in these contrasting structures of the City Park, whither the steam cars bore passengers in great numbers constantly going and coming. Foreign goods of Asia, whose origin went back into remote times, mingled with the new Latin republics of South America. A variety of looms and fabrics, precious stones and costly costume, needful or ornamental. Europe was represented also. But the native American visitor

Yet, after all, admirable as were the arrangements in Philadelphia's vicinity for this grand international show, a greater inspiration to patriotic pride and devotion might be found, this sacred year, in rambles about the city itself. All worlds' fairs are much alike in the cardinal impression they leave; and wherever æsthetic influences are found subordinate, the prolonged and bewildering study of material things brought together in profusion becomes a weariness to the flesh, and diversion is demanded, as the days move on. Such an exposition even though nobly commemorative is material and prosaic in character and reaches most earnestly for prosaic results. Before us in panorama is a vast aggregation of machines in whirling motion, of goods, wares and merchandise, all to be explored and examined, whose exhibitors have combined in a mammoth advertisement with mammon ends in view. Philadelphia, however, to the centennial visitor was a civic source of patriotic ennoblement and delight; the same characteristic centre of tranquil prosperity, comfort, and sobriety, now as yesterday, whose inhabitants, through all accumulations of wealth and population, had reverently preserved the landmarks of Revolutionary distinction. For this city of brotherly love was the gathering place for a united independence fraternally proclaimed, fought for and through toil and sacrifice achieved.

Here, aside from William Penn, and the early associations of a Quaker sect, old brick churches of the eighteenth century were to be seen, both political and religious in their memories; venerable Christ Church for instance, well preserved, where the pew was shown which Washington occupied while President and the modest graveyard outside, wherein, close to a busy thoroughfare, were set the slabs of Franklin and his loving consort. He, though neither Quaker nor Philadelphia born, became the best embodiment of the large-hearted benevolence, sensible philosophy and tranquil devotion to the service of fellow-men, combined with much shrewdness in private business, that gave this city its characteristic

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ed again in plain red brick, solid and ample, architectural pretension of any kind, appeared as hospital, and the Historical Association where precious documents were preserved. Carpenters still owned by the company that erected it whose roof the first Continental Congress in 1774 was visible. But, most impressive of buildings, stood Independence Hall in the line of antique edifices known as State House renowned to posterity as the birthplace of independence in 1776 and of our perfected Union in 1787. Within its walls relics of the Revolution were restored and the old furniture placed, as formerly, in an immortal chamber; with its emblem of a half-sun on the back, evoked Franklin's happy remark when Washington in 1787, holding once more the conspicuous honor.¹

Delaware's peculiar traits were observable in 1876, though time and circumstances, but essentially

high-falutin' ! Indulge in commonplaces on this, and
other subjects - Washington & G.

1876.

CENTENNIAL PHILADELPHIA.

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of this vast community; the same dull uniformity in plan and pattern was everywhere denoted. Clay dwellings for mortals of clay. Red brick in long and uniform lines stretched from north to south and from east to west, relieved by white porticoes more or less spacious, white stone steps in front to be scrubbed clean in early morning, and white shutters in place of blinds, which were closed at evening except in the hot summer weather, and behind whose shelter family parties and friends might cheerfully disport themselves when the gas was lit, while from outside it seemed as though the whole long block was untenanted. This love of domestic security and independence, Philadelphia's well organized centennial committees seemed to have undertaken to stimulate when arranging this year for the overflow of guests; for they did not leave strangers from abroad to take their chances among hotel keepers, though of hotels commodious, convenient and by no means extortionate in charges, there was a fair supply; but lists were compiled of houses, where visitors might lodge in parties or families or alone, and take in the sights, while here, with such economy, privacy and leisure as each might wish. The home life for themselves Philadelphians promoted in 1876 for others. And thus might one, in the intervals of sight-seeing, whether at Fairmount Park or down town, sit at the window of his quiet hired chamber, with pen in hand, and an occasional glance at the sunny sidewalk below him, to commit high thoughts to paper, just as Jefferson sat, in his lodgings, a hundred years earlier, when composing alone his immortal document at a small rosewood writing-desk which descendants now preserved for exhibition.¹

Those centenary commemorations, whose culminating occasion was reached at Philadelphia during six sunny months of 1876, must have done something to stir the hearts of our people to love and gratitude for the restored blessings of peace and reunion vouchsafed to them. And

¹ Author's recollections; 1 Andrews's Quarter Century, c. 8.

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tical campaign which went on during the 1876 greatly inflamed party animosities in a political predominance, which meant much, where the adversaries were so nearly equal in voting strength. The promise of national reconciliation with which the Philadelphia Convention opened was not fully realized at its close. As it has been well said, the voter for President Hayes was the voter of evils; but in 1876 either vote was a good one, and Tilden both wrote good letters of acceptance. That of Hayes was the better of the two. Each gave assurance that he favored reform in the government patronage, and believed that honesty, capacity and fidelity were the real qualifications for public office, rather than party or personal interest.² But while Hayes was direct and incisive in his views on this and finance though vague on the South, Tilden's letter was long, labored and evasive, hardly expressing, suggesting the timorousness felt by a nominee who has many and con-

while inflation theories were greatly rife among his fellow-citizens; yet there, once more, his record was that of a conscientious and faithful administrator, with no special achievement to speak of. His present strength for the Republican candidacy consisted most of all in the fact that no charge whatever could be made against him; and he added much to it for a closely contested campaign by volunteering the assurance, in his letter of acceptance, as though to measure modestly his own claims for the exalted office, or possibly to soothe where Grant had offended, that, if elected, he would serve but a single term. What that assurance on his part came really to signify, as events turned out, he could little have realized when he penned this letter of acceptance; but the pledge itself proved of assistance in placing him in the Presidency under quite exceptional circumstances, and to that pledge, when President, we may add, he honestly adhered.

Tilden, now sixty-two years of age, and far surpassing Hayes in worldly wisdom and a varied experience, as he did in years, may be said to have reached, this year, the fullest maturity of his powers. It is quite doubtful, whether, among the perplexities of a new Democratic Presidency, had he attained it, he would have sustained himself in supreme national office with the same vigorous grasp of affairs, selection of subordinates and attack upon existing abuses, that set him forth now with such prominence as one of the very greatest governors New York had ever chosen. At all events, his policy towards securing this new and highest prize of his calling was not to make a zealous canvass as a public speaker but rather to conduct a still hunt for votes and avoid controversy. As an able corporation lawyer he had amassed a large fortune, and, being unmarried, he had pursued politics from his youth as a pleasurable diversion to a life of business, not always choice in his methods or associates. Many who had known him well thought him crafty and cunning, in spite of the splendid record for reform he had lately made. In finance he was a master; his perfect ability to bear official responsibilities, so long as mental

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al health continued unimpaired, were beyond and he possessed skill undeniable in the arts of management. All this, however, did not concede al to serve the country as unselfishly in devotion w cherished as the Revolutionary sages had ts in posterity's present imagination. And, ell that immense pressure of a dangerous sort brought to bear upon him, were he and the e party brought into immediate power, many oncluded to give Tilden their independent sup- m to be a doubtful deliverer from misrule, if a all.¹ For the revival of a Democratic South for anxiety and hesitation to Northern citizens ways been loyal to the Union.

ell for the peace of the whole country that both and both party platforms so clearly advocated ey and a speedy resumption. This gave en- at to business men all over the country, who ly reaching forward to that consummation. o produce an equilibrium of voting strength

Republicans in power, giving names, they and their partisans would surely retort upon the chief candidate of the Democrats for whom power was sought. Tilden was rich; and hence, the sources and extent of his wealth were savagely exploited by political opponents. He had made money as counsel in railroad reorganizations; he was stigmatized therefore as a "railroad wrecker," but that charge proved false and unsustained by proof. More damaging because better founded was the imputation, made upon full scrutiny of the income tax records, that he had cheated government out of its full dues. For while returning only about \$7000 as his income for 1862 and the succeeding year, he had afterwards made no annual return, but left the amount to be estimated by the Federal assessor. Tilden was slow in defending himself against this latter charge, but, at length, a letter of explanation appeared, which justified the returns as he had made or omitted them. It is neither fraudulent nor unusual among men of property to avoid making returns, leaving assessors to doom them at discretion. This, of course, does not affirm that one thus pays every dollar of tax due from him which close investigation might reveal, or a highly conscientious interpretation of the statute might lead a scrupulous man to pay over. Inquisition is odious. None are apt to insist so earnestly that others shall make a punctilious compliance with an income tax law as those whose annual revenue keeps them safely inside the exemption limit.¹

But the real campaign issue for impassioned rhetoric on the Republican side was abuse of the Democratic South for its treatment of the negro. Whether former slave States had fought for the Union or the Confederacy mattered little, since they were now so solidly arrayed in politics on the Democratic side; and to revive war animosities in the Northern mind was the principal object with such party orators. Tilden's war record was vulnerable;

¹ Newspapers; VII. Rhodes, 220, 221.

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ded to his private affairs during those years, timid and selfish, neither going to the front volunteering a hearty sacrifice of means to the cause of righteousness and liberation. To "wave the shirt," therefore; to forebode that a new disoriented the country with conditions reversed, the White House be captured and the patronage of the Government controlled by the traitors and renegades of a few years or more ago,—this was a favorite strain of demagogues pursued by zealous Republicans. It met the fancy of those which hireling orators found themselves on the stump, when they stumped such important States as Indiana where the "rag baby" of inflation had been nursed.¹ "Bulldozing" and the "shot-gun" were put into pictorial requisition in this canvass to illustrate the horrid methods which Southern white natives resorted to employ for keeping negro voters away from the polls or for making them submissive "rebels" whenever exercising the right of

This admonition seemed to be heeded so long as the moral Executive confronted the people's representatives in person, but the moment his back was turned and he absented himself for a day from Columbia, the State capitol, these slippery solons chose the notorious Whipper as judge for one vacant circuit and the still more notorious Moses as judge for another. Chamberlain, upon his return, protested loudly, and, signing the commissions of the other six judges elected, he withheld the commissions of Whipper and Moses, assigning technical grounds for doing so. Members of the bar and other reputable citizens of Charleston and elsewhere applauded him with enthusiasm for this action.¹

Of Chamberlain's able and persistent efforts, in all sincerity, to give good government to his adopted State there is not the slightest doubt. "The civilization of the Puritan and the Cavalier, of the Roundhead and the Huguenot," as he himself expressed it at this time, "is in peril."² Yet it was highly natural that the Cavaliers and Huguenots of haughty South Carolina should, under all the circumstances, resolve, in 1876, to take redemption into their own hands rather than owe it longer to a Puritan and Roundhead with so scaly a set of partisans to discipline. Instead, therefore, of taking Chamberlain the Republican for their own Democratic nominee, as perhaps they might have done, in the hope of separating him from his detested followers, they put up a clear and clean candidate of their own blood and affinity, Wade Hampton, a scion of one of the oldest and most influential of the Palmetto families, and a man who was sure to unite strongly the mass of intelligent and conservative voters. They joined the Northern Tilden alliance. This threw Chamberlain back upon the piebald and beggarly elements with whom he had been politically associated all these years, and as a candidate for re-election he figured simply as a straight Republican, directed by Chairman Chandler

¹ VII. Rhodes, 166, 167. This was in December, 1875.

² *Ib.*, 167.

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ton and linked with the national fortunes of Wheeler. Vexed and disappointed that his efforts at State reform had failed of the resident aid and support he had hoped for, he now henceforth opened warfare upon his Democratic opponents.¹ That the South Carolina gentry had formed a "Committee of Safety" for lawless violence and suppression of the freedmen, he issued his mandate of prohibition, and, without waiting for either to enforce the local law as Executive or for the legislature for appropriate action, he requested the President to send troops into the State for military protection. Grant, without calmly considering whether a case of "domestic violence," as provided for in our constitution, had been made out, issued a proclamation on October 26, in peremptory terms, and sent Federal troops into South Carolina to put down such lawlessness. Chamberlain, in later years, asserted that the tax payers of this State had, in desperation, adopted what was called "the Mississippi plan" of coercive

could never have permanently resulted in government fit to be endured.¹

The Northern State elections of October in Ohio and Indiana—Pennsylvania being now omitted from the category of that month—showed a close division of sentiment as between Republicans and Democrats; Ohio giving for the former party a plurality of a few thousand only, while Indiana, by a turn of the ^{October.} scales nearly corresponding, preponderated for the latter.² The whole outcome of the Presidential contest was now recognized as dependent upon the vote of New York State, when the crucial national test should be applied in November. Here a Democratic State convention, faithful to party traditions, had put up Seymour for governor, resolved to lean upon him to the last; but Seymour, now in the decline of health and years, had conceived himself dead and buried for politics ever since 1868, and refused to be resurrected; and the convention, meeting a second time, nominated in his stead another sound and seasoned Democrat of about the same age, Lucius Robinson. Robinson had been comptroller of the State at different times, and now held that office again under Governor Tilden. He was a safe Democrat, of financial experience and tried official integrity, and his selection was a judicious one for giving strength to the national ticket.

Despite the fierce personalities of this long Presidential campaign, in which Republican partisans and those long dominant in national affairs took the aggressive rather than their opponents, fanning the embers of sectional strife with all the violent zeal they could muster, while Democrats remained mostly on the defensive, our plain common people became reconciled to the prospect of a political overturn, such as presaged no real disaster to the

¹ VII. Rhodes, 287 n., citing that narrative.

² Ohio went Republican by 6636, and Indiana Democratic by 5084. "Blue Jeans" Williams, a farmer of simple garb and habits, was chosen governor of Indiana. VII. Rhodes, 223.

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might even replace the worse by the better in the conduct of affairs. There had, it is true, been a considerable dread at the North, well harped upon by orators, lest these Democrats, upon gaining the government with the aid of ex-Confederates, would "satisfy Southern claims" arising out of the war and compensate for the former slaves released from the South. Tilden's managers, upon Northern minds, Tilden's managers, Charles Hewitt, the chairman, who carried great weight in business circles, procured from him in good season a categorical declaration against such a policy, and it was his part that, if elected President, he would veto any "bill" providing for the payment of such

The aftermath of the business panic of 1873 still lingered in the country, the financial policy of the Republican Administration did not commend itself heartily to certain

as well as in the North, elections passed off without visible violence or disturbance of any kind at the polls. They who cast a ballot voted everywhere just as they liked, in the fair estimation of all observers. Not even in South Carolina was there outrage or bloodshed. How New York would go was the anxious question. It took less than an over-night count to make it manifest that this great State had by a majority of over 30,000 elected the Democratic Robinson governor and brought out the national Tilden ticket triumphant. "East, West, North and South have combined," proclaimed the press, the next morning, "and Tilden and Hendricks have prevailed." For the remainder of that day, at least, most people and most newspapers acquiesced cheerfully in such a result and business men went upon their way, contented if not openly rejoicing.¹

SECTION V.

A DISPUTED ELECTION.

Early in the evening of that anxious November 7, it became known, far and wide, that Tilden had carried New York State by a large majority, and long before midnight it was also known in Eastern cities that Connecticut, ^{1876,} New Jersey and Indiana, among Northern States, ^{Nov.} had gone for him, besides. With these four States certain, Northern reckoners agreed that he had the "Solid South" to increase his total, or, at least, enough electoral votes from that restored region to insure his choice by a safe majority.² For upon such a figuring Tilden would receive 203 votes in the electoral college, as against only 166 for Hayes.

¹ Newspapers; author's recollections.

In New York the voters, at their November election, accepted certain proposed amendments to the State constitution, whereby the prisons and canals were taken out of politics; an accomplishment for good which was mainly due to Governor Tilden. N. Y. Nation, Nov. 16, 1876.

² VII. Rhodes, 227

New York papers, the Times and the Herald, mysterious doubt as to election results, on November 8, while nearly every other morning in the Union announced confidently that Fremont had been elected. In later editions the Times footed up 184 votes for Tilden, and placed to the credit of the latter both New York and Louisiana; and it further stated that the doubtful, was claimed by the Republicans, the four votes of that State were carried across would figure up 185 electoral votes as his by a majority of one.¹ This news caused

excitement in New York which soon spread through the country. At two o'clock in the afternoon the Times

put on its bulletin board the figures "Hayes 185,

And late that evening the Republican Committee issued from the Fifth Avenue Hotel a statement to the effect that with Republican votes these three Southern States, besides those at

Nov. 8.

10:30 p.m.

vigilant with their troops to preserve peace and good order and to keep the proper and legal boards of canvassers in those States from being molested in the performance of their duties. The motive of this order seemed just and impartial, as perhaps it was, and Grant's further expression was in appropriate language.¹ But military interference by the President at the South had not of late been so unpartisan as to cause Democrats equally with Republicans to confide in his action. Later, this same month, Grant took sides in South Carolina by issuing orders through Secretary Cameron that the Federal troops there should sustain Chamberlain as governor against the Democratic claimant.² He also sent to New Orleans November 10, a committee, composed exclusively of Republicans, to watch the returns made up for Louisiana; whereupon Democrats sent other committeemen of their own. These, I may remark, were the "visiting statesmen," *N. Y. Nation* of whom much was heard during the three pregnant weeks *indecisive* which followed.³

The political results, in the three Southern States whose elections of November came into such speedy dispute, continued dubious in Louisiana, and were purposely kept so by a disreputable returning board whose members played for high stakes and were ready to sell the State's electoral vote to either national party. Zachariah Chandler had been chairman of the Republican National Com-

¹ "Should there be any ground of suspicion of a fraudulent count on either side it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to share the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." VII. Rhodes, 229.

² N. Y. Nation, Nov. 30, 1876.

³ *Ib.* Dec. 7, 1876; VII. Rhodes, 230. Among those who were sent on either side were Sherman, Garfield, Stanley Matthews and Lew Wallace, as Republicans; with Palmer, Trumbull, Morrison, Randall, Doolittle, and Watterson, as Democrats—all men of probity and high character. There were in all twenty-five Republicans and twenty-three Democrats.

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as Secretary of the Interior. He had made of his position to levy assessments for the and freely and ruthlessly on the office-holders, e who first raised a doubt and started the Southern States for votes so as to count in ough November he stirred the Republican out the North to claim and maintain boldly and not Tilden had been elected. Watterson vely, as I have mentioned,¹ that Chandler as very early in the morning of Novem- speak support from the corruptible canvass- South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, for his d it seems fairly certain that the Republican claim by the ensuing night that Hayes was nd a doubt," if the despatches received were spired by him.² And, more than this, the Sec- oading Northern newspapers, while the can- on in those States, to show "grit" and insist ad carried South Carolina, Louisiana and

contrary, when in early November Tilden was thought elected, that United States securities abroad remained steady as a rock. Gold advanced, however, at a later date, when the Presidential title was found to have come into open dispute.

While the tension of public excitement was stretched in great anxiety, Congress re-assembled, December 4, for a final and highly memorable session, to last until the 4th of March. A Democratic House and a Republican Senate confronted each other at the capitol with mutual distrust and a strongly opposing purpose. In the House Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was promptly chosen Speaker, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Kerr. Randall was a man of forcefulness and courage, and as he mounted the steps to his desk, stood before the chair of honor, and took the gavel into his hand with an earnest and determined look, American flags draping the platform behind him, long and loud applause went up from the majority members who sat in front.¹ The Senate convened more quietly, and here Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan, already President *pro tem.* by the choice of his colleagues, officiated in place of Vice-President Wilson, deceased. In the Senate, the session's business began with a proposed inquiry into the recent elections in various Southern States: while the House appointed committees for a similar purpose.

The spirit of partisan hostility over the pending Presidential title burned fiercely in the two Houses at first. Nor was this spirit lessened when the President, in a special message of December 7, submitted to Congress, as though it were a public document, the report of the Republican gentlemen whom he had appointed to visit New Orleans, which with much casuistry defended the returning board of Louisiana in excluding certain parishes of that State from the reckoning.² A resolute purpose

¹ I beheld that scene from the gallery.

² Cong. Globe; Harper's, Feb., 1877.

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breathed from the circle of Executive control at the other end of the Avenue, to keep the citadel of the national party which already held

Republican theory was now put forward, concerning the electoral count, which claimed for this President of the Senate the absolute right to virtually decide between Tilden and Hayes when the electoral college could be opened, in case of a dispute. The Constitution says: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted."

This meant, as Republican Senators zealously maintained, that the President of the Senate should accept the certificates were to be accepted in the count and open them. In other words, the assembled House of Representatives were to sit together and wait a count and declaration by the Republican Ferry, who held not even the credentials of a

declare the result.”¹ By that date, however, this new phenomenon, hailed at first as a guiding star by the wise men of his party, had nearly burned itself out like a Bengola light and was soon forgotten.²

There were leaders of calm and conciliating mood in Congress at this climax, and the temper of the opposing majorities in the two Houses was softened by the embarrassed conditions of the country, for memorials came pouring into Washington from bankers, merchants and business men, most prominent in home constituencies, praying earnestly that Congress should find some amicable way out of the present entanglement. In the House, on the 14th of December,³ J. Proctor Knott, a Democrat of high character, reported from the Judiciary Committee a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven by the Speaker to meet a similar committee of seven from the Senate, whose joint report upon mutual conference should present some measure for fairly and finally deter-

¹ VII. Rhodes, 240, citing Sherman's Recollections, 561. The N. Y. Nation stated (Dec., 1876), that "Zach" Chandler still insisted that Hayes had surely been elected, that the Vice-President would so announce it, and that Hayes would be inaugurated in person.

² I was in Washington from the middle of November, this year, until the end of December, watching carefully as a plain citizen the dangerous political development, which seemed to have been inspired from behind the throne. I had various conferences with the Washington correspondent of a leading Boston paper, whose views I found were in accord with my own. As a voluntary contribution to the discussion started at the capitol, I prepared and printed at my own cost an anonymous historical pamphlet upon "The Electoral College," for refuting the theory that any President of the Senate had the constitutional discretion claimed for him at this time. A copy of the pamphlet was sent to each member of Congress. I never heard that this production was read or commented upon by any one; but I felt sufficiently rewarded when I found that the whole absurd claim was gradually abandoned.

³ George W. McCrary, a Republican, had introduced a resolution in the House, Dec. 7, of the present purport, which went to the committee on the Judiciary.

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electoral count. This resolution was adopted, and on the 18th, voted in favor of the measure for the appointment of a committee on its own part.¹ The scheme now broached for a settlement was for Edmunds (who had succeeded Trumbull on the Senate Judiciary Committee) to refer the controversy to the Supreme Court.² This was not what either side would agree to. Nor would Republican members agree to a resolution on the Democratic side, that Congress should adjourn, although there had been no majority election at the time; or, in other words, so that the House, if Democratic, might eventually choose the President, as the constitution provided in such a case, while the Republican Senate chose the Vice-President, electing Wheeler.³ In the face of the ready raised by the Senate majority, whether the vote had been abridged in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, on their own behalf the House majority proposed immediate conduct of the canvassing boards in South

in Governor Chamberlain's hands, and, as a public man honorably disposed, he must have deplored the odious task now thrown upon him. With Federal troops to back him and an express Federal recognition of his State government as the legitimate one, whether by election or re-election, he could manage the situation in his own way.

Election results in South Carolina, both State and national, were undeniably close and the Executive temptation was strong to manipulate and falsify, when the canvassing board footed up the returns. Both parties in the State were vigilant over the count; the Hampton men complaining that United States troops had been ^{November-} stationed near the polls at the election, while ^{December.} Chamberlain's supporters retorted that negro voters had been intimidated by the Democratic "rifle clubs." South Carolina's supreme court intervening, it appeared that Hayes carried the count as President, and Hampton as governor, each by slight majorities.¹ But on Sunday, November 26th, the time now near at hand for testing the State elections, the President ordered Cameron, his Secretary of War, to sustain Governor Chamberlain against "domestic violence," as the constitution provides.² Troops were accordingly quartered in Columbia, who occupied the State House under Chamberlain's supervision. When the legislature convened that week to inaugurate a new government, Federal sentries who had been posted at the door kept Democrats from entering the hall who could not produce passes from one of Chamberlain's underlings. For State police or State sheriffs this governor seems to have had no use. The canvassing board, in gross violation of the supreme court's mandate, had given certificates of election which secured a Republican control of this legislature. Hence the Democrats withdrew in a body, and a dual legislature with a dual State government

¹ N. Y. Nation, Nov. 23, 1876.

² This order did not state upon whose constitutional application the intervention was based; but probably Chamberlain made the request.

sequence. Both Chamberlain and Hampton served as governors in rivalry and to the latter chosen most of the property and intelligence gave a determined support.¹ South Carolina's canvassers certified to Republican electors as chosen at the polls; and those electors voted, of Hayes. But the Democrat electors met in themselves, fortified by the judicial imbroglio, electoral vote was cast for Tilden.²

Florida, a canvassing board of three was invested with the dangerous power of throwing away at the polls on the ground of intimidation and this board was under Republican control. County returns showed a majority of 90 cast for electors; but two of the board, constituting a majority, inverted this into a majority of 925 for Hayes, and irregularities. The popular total in was undeniably close; yet its modest four votes should in fairness have been conceded to



following from Jacksonville, southward, the line of the St. John's river with its tributary, the Ocklawaha. In that sure direction, and for bringing orange growers to settle, besides an increasing crowd from all quarters of the Union to travel thither in search of health and recreation, Florida's new and permanent growth in numbers and importance had already begun.¹

(3). The storm centre of this electoral strife was, of course, Louisiana. That State of large commerce and industries had eight electoral votes to confer in its college, all of the utmost consequence for recording a majority to those who favored Hayes as President. To New Orleans, where the canvass of Louisiana's ^{November.} popular vote took place, "visiting statesmen" repaired of the Republican faith, followed by twenty-three stanch Democrats, all sent to watch the count by the canvassing board and fraternizing with one another to a considerable extent. The Republican visitors bestowed upon their Democratic brethren, when the latter arrived, a well-worded homily concerning that high moral endeavor which should afford a rule for mutual guidance; but when the Democrats asked by letter a practical co-operation so as to secure "an honest count and true return of the votes," the Republicans, not unmindful of the advantage they possessed from the start in a returning board of their own party faith, declined the offer politely, alleging the legality

¹ Author's recollections, Jan., 1877. At this time Jacksonville was a rapidly increasing centre for Florida's distribution of winter tourists, having large and commodious winter hotels. From that point travel was by steamboat as far south as Sanford and Enterprise. At an eastern landing-place on St. John's river passengers would leave the steamboat and take passage by a short railway ride to St. Augustine, already famous for its old Spanish fort and surroundings, its beach of soft sand and delicate shells, and a winter society in which army and navy officers figured largely. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe had a winter cottage at Mandarin, and the charms of Florida and fruit culture were strongly set forth in a book written by Sidney Lanier, the poet.

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interference with State rights. The returning committee, however, in a hospitable way, invited committees from each group of these "visiting statesmen" to attend their open sessions. The invitations were accepted by both Republican and Democratic witnesses present at those sessions.¹

The returning board of Louisiana was a disreputable body. All deference paid to it by our distinguished guests must have been purely politic, with an inward shudder of the stomach. It comprised four members, two white and two colored men, all Republicans by name. Wells, its president and master spirit, an ex-governor of the State who now held a lucrative Federal position at the custom house, was a scoundrel, tricky and dishonest, whose character had degenerated during the years, while he managed Louisiana politics by the arts of subterfuge and chicanery.² Anderson, the other white member, was corrupt, and of the two negroes present, one had been indicted for larceny while Casanave was governor.³ According to law the Democrats

At the sessions attended by "visiting statesmen" the returns from each parish (or county) of the State were opened and the votes for Presidential electors examined. Where no protests were filed the returns were sent to private rooms to be tabulated by clerks, all of whom were Republicans and several notoriously bad and under criminal indictment. Where there were protests, based upon charges of intimidation and fraud, the board took testimony on both sides, much of it consisting of *ex parte* affidavits loosely expressed and irrelevant in point of time.¹ On December 2, the returning board went into secret session. On the 3d, and three days before the official canvass was completed, the United States marshal at New Orleans telegraphed exultingly to a Republican Senator at Washington that Wells says "Board will return Hayes sure. Have no fear!" On December 6, the returning board promulgated, as the result of their canvass, that the Hayes electors had majorities varying from 4626 to 4712. On the face of the returns, however, the Tilden electors had majorities varying from 6300 to 8957. To change that obvious result the returning board must have thrown out about 13,000 Democratic votes in the State against 2000 Republican,—a net Democratic disfranchisement relatively equivalent to the rejection of 70,000 votes in the State of New York.²

Surely, such sessions as these, with their proclaimed totals, could have carried very little conviction to the hearts of those intelligent and mostly upright men from the North who had gone through the farce of watching and witnessing the official count. "As a matter of fact" (to quote Mr. Rhodes's conclusion) "Wells and his satellites in secret conclave determined the presidency of the United States, but, before returning the vote of Louisiana

¹ VII. Rhodes, 232. Nevertheless, some intimidation of negro would-be Republican voters by white Democrats was clearly shown. *Ib.*

² *Ib.*, 232. I take these figures and statements from Mr. Rhodes, who cites his authorities.

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There is little doubt that he offered to give it to \$200,000." ¹ Based upon this brazen declaration, the corrupt returning board Governor Kellogg of Louisiana gave to the eight Hayes electors the regular result of the election; and Louisiana's vote was promptly secured for the national Republican candidates. ²

The Democratic party, through its national committee and its leaders, had been vigilant, all the while, on the subject of the election of Alden and Hendricks. To offset the electoral vote claimed for Hayes at the South, the situation in the Southern States which had gone Republican in November was eagerly scanned to discover whether the electors in this section, were it only a single individual, might not turn the reckoning decisively. But the deal had been made in good faith, here and there, and some Northern elector of political independence would not vote against his party in the college of December. The only way to relieve this intolerable ten-

puted States of the South could be safely drawn beforehand.

Close scrutiny was brought to bear upon Colorado, with her three electoral votes pledged to Hayes, and the question was asked whether Colorado was, in fact, a State in the Union already. Upon that point the House Judiciary Committee was long divided in opinion, but ultimately Colorado's vote went unopposed in the count by Congress. A better ground for Democratic challenge had been presented in the case of that other Northern State, Oregon, whose electoral vote was also three. There a local controversy arose in November. Hayes carried the State unquestionably, that month, by a popular majority of over 1000; but one of the electors chosen, Watts, proved to be a deputy postmaster, and hence was ineligible under our constitution as "holding an office of trust or profit under the United States." Grover, the present governor of Oregon, was a Democrat; and refusing to give Watts a certificate, he certified, instead, the election of Cronin, who stood highest on the list of Tilden electors. On December 6, the three Republican electors met to cast the State's ballot as a college; and Watts resigning as an elector, the vacancy created was filled on the spot by his reappointment, a dubious procedure; after which the three cast their votes together for Hayes. But Cronin, when the two Republicans lawfully chosen refused to act with him, withdrew to a corner of the room, declared two vacancies in the college and appointed Democrats to fill them. This improvised electoral college cast two votes for Hayes and one for Tilden and Governor Grover gave his recognition.¹

Congress assembled in session but two days before the electoral colleges met, throughout the land, and when the total result, already foreshadowed, became known, the excitement there was intense. Hayes, according to the authenticated votes of the whole Union, had 185 and Tilden 184; but the Democrats charged that the 4 from

¹ VII. Rhodes, 238, 239.

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the 8 from Louisiana were stolen. If, however, certificate, authenticated by the governor of s to be held valid, the total for the whole l reversed, with Tilden 185 and Hayes 184. rats made no present claim to the one vote a, their plan, as contrived, being rather to put to the dilemma of choosing whether to go by ertificates in this whole dispute or to go behind vestigate the facts. For whether the one rule was applied consistently to these four states, seem, Tilden, upon the count by Congress, to be the President rightfully chosen.¹ der such a stress of the situation that, during r weeks, the audacious theory was put forward by Republican partisans to which I have al- the President of the Senate had, under our the *ex-officio* right, solely and responsibly to result of an electoral count, while Senate and epresentatives sat dumbly before him. And

December 6, the two rival claimants, Hayes and Tilden, gave no clear sign of their intentions or wishes. Each doubtless meant to make a good President, if ^{1876, Dec.} counted in, patriotic, sound and conservative. But ^{1877, Jan.} neither had been cast in a heroic mould. Hayes had shown himself trustworthy in all public responsibilities committed to him, conscientious and discreet; yet he was by nature and training a follower rather than a guide of opinion, an average American of the better sort. His soul abhorred the idea of owing his election as President at this time to a fraudulent reckoning, and the attitude he took was honorable enough in aspect. "There must be nothing crooked on our part," he wrote to Sherman at New Orleans, November 27th: "Let Mr. Tilden have the place by violence, intimidation and fraud rather than undertake to prevent it by means that will not bear the severest scrutiny."¹ In that same letter he also said: "A fair election would have given us about forty electoral votes at the South—at least that many";² and with so strong a belief that the Southern Democratic vote was dishonest he would not have been easily convinced that the electoral votes of Florida and Louisiana did not rightfully belong to him. And again, as we have seen, when, in the new emergency revealed by December, his partisans brought forth the new postulate concerning a Republican President *pro tem.* of the Senate, he applauded that postulate as law and gospel and became fully convinced that Congress had no right to meddle.³ It is one thing to utter fine sentiments and another to act courageously as finesentiment prompts.⁴ Hayes, however, should not be dealt with harshly in the present instance. It was natural that he should wish the Presidency, and natural, too, that he should persuade himself that he was honestly entitled to it upon the whole

¹ VII. Rhodes, 236, citing 1 John Sherman's Recollections, 559.

² *Ib.*

³ *Supra*, p. 316.

⁴ Mr. Rhodes thinks that if Hayes had envisaged the facts in Louisiana as now historically shown, he would have refused to accept the Presidency. VII. Rhodes, 236. This I greatly doubt.

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Had he refused to accept the office, as the point now stood, he would have put himself on the political pale with only his personal self and an approving conscience for recompense. To say "I had rather be right than President," upon such a precept; nor perhaps would Henry Wilson, the author of that phrase, have applied it to his own ambitious career. Only the most indignant and remonstrance on Hayes's part, while the tide was running so high, could possibly have met the tempest of popular approval strong enough to shake the Republicans who still held the fortress, to open the gates to the Tilden forces and capitulate. Doubtless the party leaders would have turned next to their Vice-President elect, with undiminished loyalty, some way they would have baffled the Democrats, sought a lodgment. And hence it was natural that Hayes, instead of seeking self-immolation, should have committed himself and his political chances to his

honest rights and theirs to any fraudulent juggling with the November returns in Florida or Louisiana. Any clear statement of such a purpose—and the calmer, if expressed with determination, the better—would have aroused the people, and put those who were conspiring to exclude him corruptly from the succession upon a difficult defensive. The whole rascality of Louisiana's venal canvassers, with their base offer to sell him the electoral vote for cash, would have been spread broadcast by an eager press and the whole Presidential contest threshed out as it should have been. Jefferson in 1801 did not threaten nor try to brow-beat, but he made it clear both to party friends and foes that he was not to be tricked out of a just inheritance. And although Grant, sullen and determined, was not likely to have surrendered his place on the demand of any Democrat whom the Senate's majority challenged, he as well as Republican senators was amenable to wholesome counsel and pressure, and would not willingly have upheld a manifest wrong, with all his preference for a Republican successor.

Such nerve and persistency on Tilden's part would not and should not, have produced a new recourse to arms and bloodshed, for the leaders at Washington who conspired to count the Presidency for Hayes, all of them impressible by public opinion at large, would have weakened, and Hayes himself must have been forced into the open to announce his own intention. Conscience makes cowards of those plotting guilt. Congress would presently have consented to treat this issue as one of honest fact, honest submission to constitutional law and an honest counting, with the Senate and House co-equal for determining which of the two rival candidates for President had really and truly been the November choice of the people.

Tilden made no appeal to the people though conferring privately with his managers; and the contemporary impression—not wholly accurate—was that he devised no plan of action for his supporters to pursue. Republican partisans imagined him slyly furnishing funds from his money chest to procure the Democratic elector in Oregon as a trump

in season; but this was unjust to him. The of anxious perplexity, following so closely a auous canvass before the people, must have n much, in mind and body. Democratic om the South and elsewhere, who, now or consult him at Gramercy Park, never having re in person, thought him physically feeble, as ve and indisposed to give co-operative direc- nthusiasm in his behalf evaporated. Yet, to estimony together, it would seem that Tilden ed, though tardily, a course of action. For month following the November election he was mpiling a complete record of electoral counts undation of the government—unaware, of othor and younger minds had engaged more t same studious research for his benefit—, and ne inevitable conclusion that the claim now e President of the Senate and acting Vice- count and declare at his discretion was

erners had fought one war through with disaster upon a Presidential succession and were quite indisposed to be forced into another. As for the stubborn Executive now seated at the White House, who had the army behind him and knew how to handle troops, it was morally certain that he would not permit anything like a dual Presidency to be set up; and it was almost equally certain that, with his strong party preferences, his personal obtuseness on points of legal disputation, and his familiarity with deciding between State claimants for governor, he would recognize Hayes and instal him as successor, should the Senate, with or without Ferry, declare for him. Hence judicious Democrats in the House—Hewitt included, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Tilden's chief spokesman,—turned their thoughts to other and timelier plans for adjusting the present dispute; and as Tilden neither pressed his scheme upon them nor manifested a co-operating sympathy in other directions, the conferences of House and Senate at Washington went on without him.¹

The joint committees of Senate and House, appointed in December,² had been so made up that Democrats and Republicans should be represented on each committee, and that for joint conferences the united body should be equally

¹ See VII. Rhodes, 243-247, with citations from Bayard, Bigelow and others. And cf. Henry Watterson in *Century Magazine*, May, 1913, on the whole subject. Watterson at this time was a member of the Democratic House, one of the selected visitors at New Orleans, and a statesman cognizant of what went on at Washington afterwards. He was also editor of the well-known newspaper at Louisville. His blood was up and he announced, about this time, that 100,000 unarmed citizens would march to Washington in mass to maintain the rights of Tilden. For this he was ridiculed in a cartoon by Nast. Watterson claims that this idea embodied suggestions for rousing public feeling through the medium of the House, which Tilden had strongly approved upon a personal consultation. Tilden, he says, wrote to Speaker Randall, instructing him what to do if the popular response proved favorable. But the House Democrats, he adds, were equal to nothing of the kind, and hence he delivered that speech not in the House but at a public meeting. ² *Supra*, p. 317.

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politics. Henry A. Payne of the House, a Democrat, given to hospitalities, was made the meetings began on the 3d of January, 1877, the first of them was held in one of the House committee rooms, formerly occupied by the Speaker. At these conferences the representatives of both parties were present, but the proceedings were slow and unaccommodating. For a week no progress was made and agreement seemed impossible. No plan was proposed on one side, would lead to the election of Tilden, and whatever was proposed on the other side would lead to the election of Hayes, neither of which conclusions was acceptable. But gradually a scheme took shape. It was proposed that a committee of Edmunds and McCrary led for the Republicans and the electoral count in the disputed cases should be referred to some high commission, upon whose recommendations the two Houses should take final action. It was shown a preference that such a tribunal should be composed of members of Congress, chosen by the two parties, with justices added from the outside; fifteen to be the full number of commis-

a raffle. "A simpler way," said the New York Times, "would be for Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden to 'draw cuts' for the Presidency."¹

At length, however, after the politics of each member of our solemn silk-gowned tribunal had been weighed and discussed, the two committees came to amicable terms in conference and agreed upon the details of a bill which was reported to Congress, January 18, with the recommendation in writing of every member of the House committee and all but Morton of the committee from the Senate. This bill, which proposed the institution of an Electoral Commission for the present controversy, had been considered and framed in great secrecy. It provided that no electoral vote or votes from any State from which but one return had been received should be rejected, except by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. In the cases of States from which there was more than one return² all such returns and papers should be "submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State," of an Electoral Commission to be composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Four of these Justices were clearly designated in the bill,³ and these four were to select a fifth. The decision of this Commission in a case could be overthrown only by the concurrence of both Houses acting separately.⁴

This measure was hailed with satisfaction by Congress and the country, for it seemed to open a sensible way out of a difficult situation which no technical array of rules or precedents could readily solve while political antagonism continued so strong. It is to the lasting credit of sovereign rule by the people, from our Anglo-American point of view, that cool heads and judicious minds have so con-

¹ See in detail VII. Rhodes, 248-255.

² Florida, Louisiana, Oregon and South Carolina.

³ Clifford and Field, both of whom ranked as Democrats, with Miller and Strong, as Republicans.

⁴ VII. Rhodes, 255; Act Jan. 29, 1877.

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ived plans together for allaying factional
cs to the utmost. Revolutionary disputants
with selfish ends and ambition we never yet
d civil war itself has been conducted for
eneficent ends only. Compromise is of the
constitutional government, and where moral
ot sacrificed to an expedient temporizing,
ould be commended. Here, at least, was no
ention between moral right and wrong, as in
and if any tribunal of domestic arbitration
ted at all to do justice over a Presidential
here the votes were numerically close, it was
de up like this.¹

assed promptly this Electoral Commission
substantial support of members both Dem-
Republican in each branch, and President
his signature, sending to the Senate a message
roval.²

the votes and debates in both Houses of

those on the Democratic side favored the plan quite generally, thinking a positive concession had been made to them. The Senate yielded here the absolute claim set up for its presiding officer, in counting and declaring should a contest arise, and made a merit of doing so, while as to the claim itself Conkling, who was a Hayes man, riddled it through and through in course of the Senatorial debate. Yet to procure that yielding from a Republican Senate was an obvious gain; and so confident now were the Tildenites that he had been rightfully chosen President, that they stood ready to submit their case to the adjudication of any fair-minded tribunal composed of honest and intelligent men.

Ill-fortune, however, attended the Democrats from the moment that the Electoral Commission bill was put upon its passage in the House and before it became a law. That "lot" or "chance" in making up the tribunal which the conference committees had so keenly considered, centred in the fifteenth man—or, in other words, the fifth justice to be added from the Supreme Court. Judge David Davis was the man whom all the framers of the bill had kept constantly in view, as one whose bias over the present situation was sufficiently in doubt to qualify him for umpire and put both sides to guessing. Davis was a man of well-known independence in politics; the friend of Abraham Lincoln, who had appointed him to this court, he had merged of late years into a Liberal Republican; and his long experience on the bench, his high attainments and character, confirmed the belief that he would decide for himself as between Hayes and Tilden, and announce his opinion with fearless independence. But just at this time a contest in the Illinois legislature over a successor to the Republican Logan in the Senate, wherein Davis figured as a fusion candidate, was decided, January 25, by his choice on the fortieth ballot. This placed the Justice in a new relation towards the electoral count and, whether from principle or policy, notwithstanding his resignation from the court to become a Senator would not take place until the 4th of March, Davis positively refused to serve

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present tribunal. Chief Justice Waite having much responsibility from the beginning, the four were designated under the act chose as their colleague, Justice Bradley, who accordingly became a man and umpire. It was not an enviable position to occupy, and Bradley, though rather negative in his views, was a Republican in sentiment, owing his appointment to President Grant and to Senators who were Republicans. Of a nervous, shrinking and sensitive nature, he accepted his place on this tribunal with reluctance and yet reluctantly. Democrats were much surprised over this unexpected turn in the composition of the Electoral tribunal, and while manfully resolved to stand by their pledges, felt that the luck had started against them.

Members of this Electoral Commission for the two Houses of Congress comprised in all five Democrats and five Republicans of full party standing; yet, not to antagonize the Senate and House too directly by their party majority, it was agreed that each branch should have a



States and handing them to tellers of the two Houses for tabulation. These returns were taken up in the customary alphabetical order of States. From Florida, Louisiana, Oregon and South Carolina, opposing returns were found, as the count went on through the month, and these cases in turn were sent to the Electoral Commission for decision. That tribunal held protracted sessions as occasion required, occupying the old Senate chamber, now the Supreme Court room, and sitting in chairs behind the railing at the long table usually occupied by our full bench of justices. The five Judges of the Commission, with Clifford chosen presiding officer as senior in commissions, occupied the centre of the tribunal, while the five Senators were ranged on the right and the five Representatives on the left. In front of the railing and raised platform were tables and chairs for counsel, as in the usual arrangement while the court held sessions; but during the present hearings a vast array of spectators crowding the floor and the inconvenient gallery gave an unwonted aspect of liveliness to a chamber usually quiet, decorous and but partially filled in this era, while devoted to briefs, dockets and the drone of professional prosiness.¹

In all the four cases submitted to them in turn by Congress—Florida, Louisiana, Oregon and South Carolina—the Commission declared during February in favor of the Hayes electors. Those decisions were, each in due order, sustained by the Senate but rejected by the House, and since concurrence in action of the two branches was wanting each decision stood. Slowly the counting proceeded thus, in the alphabetical order of States to the end. Following an all night session of March, President ^{March.} Ferry, upon the final reckoning of the tellers who delivered to him the results of the count, declared that the total vote stood 185 for Hayes and 184 for Tilden, and that Hayes was accordingly elected President of the United States for four years commencing on the fourth of March. Thereupon the joint meeting of the two Houses was

¹ See picture from the Fassett painting, *Century*, May, 1913, p. 16.

dissolved just after four o'clock on Friday morning, March 2, and the Senate left the Hall of Representatives.¹

The fact most patent and impressive about this outcome of the long-drawn electoral struggle, which ended only about fifty-six hours before the present Congress and Executive administration would legally expire, was, that each essential decision by this grave Electoral Commission was rendered by a bare majority of 8 to 7—not a single member of that tribunal voting contrary to his party affiliations—, while, furthermore, each House voted correspondingly by its Republican or Democratic majority to approve or disapprove each decision. The Republican Senate wholly assented to the conclusions of the Commission while the House wholly dissented, and under such opposing conditions Hayes won and Tilden lost. The pertinacity with which statesmen, the most sagacious and the most honorable among us, will band together to uphold party candidates or a party policy was here much more strikingly manifested than in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. It mattered but little that five of the most dignified judges in the whole continent shared deliberations and conclusions with conspicuous Senators and conspicuous Representatives, in the chamber where private suitors were wont to plead cases of the weightiest moment before them as to oracles of wisdom and impartiality. Judges and Congressmen alike were each and all influenced by political prepossessions towards one Presidential candidate or the other, and not one of the fifteen arbiters was converted from his own views or attitude by the long and ingenious arguments of the eminent counsel lined in front of them on either side to plead. These beat the air and spun webs of sophistry or truth, only to supply reasons pro or con to support opinions which arbitrators already held well in mind. As the expected "lot" or "chance," Justice Bradley failed wholly in the part of umpire for which he was cast. Though not a

¹ VII. Rhodes, 265-279.

deeply-dyed partisan he was of the party now in power and no independent at all. He consorted with Strong, that associate on the bench who was appointed at the same time with himself, and both were swayed in their opinions by the forceful Miller, whose politics were known to be uncompromisingly Republican.

The ground of decision taken by the majority of this Commission was revealed in the case of Florida, the earliest and best argued of them all. Here the returns had comprised one certificate in favor of the four Hayes electors which bore the signature of the governor and secretary of state holding office when the electoral colleges met, while other certificates, differently authenticated and yet *bona fide* on their face, evinced that the circuit and supreme courts of Florida had decided against the two Republican canvassers who made a majority, upholding the third and Democratic canvasser,—also that by *quo warranto* proceedings in those courts it had been established that the Hayes electors were usurpers and those for Tilden rightfully chosen. The new Democratic governor now in office certified anew under the seal of the State and a new Democratic legislature sustained him. The 8 to 7 pronouncement, however, which gave Florida to Hayes and practically decided the Presidency was in effect that all this evidence against the State canvassing board even if imputing fraud went for nothing; that it was not competent for this Commission, under the constitution and the law, to go into evidence *aliunde* to ascertain that other persons than those regularly and originally certified to by the governor of the State under the State seal were the true electors. Here, in point of fact, the two Republicans of Florida's canvassing board, as against the third, a Democrat, had thrown out the votes of certain counties or precincts in order to count in the Hayes electors, but the judicial tribunals of the State had, upon due investigation, pronounced their action null and void under Florida law.¹

The decision of the Commission thus rendered was a

¹ VII. Rhodes, 265-274.

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, made in utter disregard of a presentation of to say the least, raised strong suspicion that ernor of December had certified to a flagrant nt disregard of the popular vote cast at the olls. And such a legal conclusion, which es of the Commissioners to all allegations of as special testimony, readily covered Lou- ore flagrant turpitude when the vote of that rtant State was reached later by the two ongress and sent likewise to the Commission ion. Morally and positively the Democratic orrupt canvassers stood stronger in Louisiana da, as watchers of that board now back in ould testify, yet from the technical point of taken it seemed no better. And hence by ey still standing with his brother Republicans n, all evidence *aliunde* to offset Governor icial certificate was absolutely excluded and ight electoral votes went to swell the needful Hayes, though steeped in fraud and des-

governor's certificate, be counted for Tilden, so as to determine the Presidency in his favor. All that the seven Democrats of this tribunal maintained was that the vote of the Republican elector who was disqualified by the constitution should be thrown out, as in case of a vacancy. This would have brought Tilden and Hayes to a prospective tie so as to throw the election into the House of Representatives. But that for the Republican eight of the Commission was too momentous a sacrifice, and, accordingly, against the official certificate of the governor of Oregon, the three votes of that State went by 8 to 7 to Hayes, as the people in November had doubtless intended. South Carolina was reached and sent to the Commission, last of all, and with reason fair enough, aside from the technical rule hitherto applied, the seven votes of that State were given to Hayes.¹

Irritation over the total count as already figuring up seems to explain the Democratic vote averse to giving Hayes South Carolina. By the time that State was reached Tilden's supporters felt that they had been cheated out of a Presidency fairly and honestly won at the polls. Nevertheless, most Democrats in the House and Senate agreed to abide loyally by the terms of an arbitration statute they had helped to enact. Ex-Confederates who were members of Congress had in particular bound themselves early to suffer no imputations on their honor to arise in that respect, but to oppose all attempts whatever against the award of the Electoral Commission as sustained by either branch, and to accept results. When March opened, however, with the total count of the States still unfinished, turbulent attempts were made by about sixty recalcitrant Democrats of the ^{March} House, mostly from the North and West, to filibuster and delay the count until the 4th of March should leave

¹ Here, curiously enough, the Commission unanimously decided that the Tilden electors were not the lawful ones, and yet by only 8 to 7 that South Carolina's votes should be counted for Hayes. See at length VII. Rhodes, 265-277.

confusion and undetermined. What might be such a novel situation, they were reckless of. Speaker Randall checked such demonstrations with skill and resolution, as far as possible.¹ But the remonstrants received what seemed a forcible reinforcement from the Louisiana delegation, whose purpose, however, was not to exclude Hayes from a secession, but to get him to concede something for their own State government. That desired result was quickly reached. Conferences took place with the aid of and apparently accredited agents of the Republican candidate. At a final gathering in Wormsloe, held in the apartment of William M. Evarts, chief counsel for Hayes before the Electoral Commission, and prospective Secretary of State, a promise was given to Louisiana's representatives that, if Hayes was elected President, all Federal troops would be withdrawn from the State, and the people of Louisiana left to form a local government to suit themselves. Sherman and Dennison of Ohio were among the

As a lasting memorial of the laudable and patriotic efforts made by public men in Washington of both national parties, to work out to a just and peaceable conclusion a Presidential embroilment which had become highly

finished by Congress and declared. I was a spectator of President Hayes's inauguration, to the extent of witnessing the procession as it passed through Pennsylvania Avenue to Capitol Hill, and the face of Hayes, as he rode in the open carriage, seemed to me anxious and apprehensive of personal danger.

A severe snow storm on New Year's day, when my wife and I started upon our Southern journey, blocked seriously our progress through Virginia and spread a wintry winding-sheet over the whole landscape, as far south as Atlanta. We passed a month in Florida, lingering at Jacksonville and St. Augustine, and then we resumed our journey as far as New Orleans, where we made a family visit of about a fortnight in February. By that time all appeared quiet and orderly in the crescent city, and business went on in its usual course so far as I could perceive. The Nicholls or Democratic government I found in peaceful possession of the State House, where the legislature was holding open sessions, with the stars and stripes flying from the roof. The Packard Republican legislature had been forced to occupy an old building elsewhere—formerly a theatre, if I remember rightly—which I also sought to visit as a spectator of its proceedings. But its inner doors were guarded by a white man of ruffian aspect who refused me admittance. Over the street entrance, however, was an outer balcony, which I saw occupied by various negro women, nursing their babies or lunching; and these, I was told, were the wives of certain legislators inside.

The opinion emphatically expressed by all intelligent white citizens of New Orleans with whom I conversed—scions of families, long resident there, who had never actually taken sides with disunion—was to this effect: "You may have your President at Washington, if you wish, but we are bound to have our own rightful State government, if we fight for it." This, after my return to Washington, I reported to General Devens of Massachusetts, when he assumed his duties as Attorney General of President Hayes's cabinet.

All my personal solicitude or effort, though this exciting winter, was as a private citizen desirous of peace and harmony. I had no personal ends in view, no office to seek, and no political credentials to show from anyone. My vote as an independent had been given in November to Tilden, and it was the first time in my life that I ever supported a party Democrat for national office. /r

and threatening, the Electoral Commission attracts all the praise that has ever been bestowed on that embroilment, we should remember, had occasioned by an unscrupulous hunt for Republican Southern States scarcely yet relieved from whose canvassing boards were known to be corrupt, which was followed up by the unconstitutional action of a Republican Senate against the co-operation of the House of Representatives in counting the results. | As for the Electoral Commission mechanism in my humble opinion stands a bad example in history. Its decisions as rendered by it are in essence evasive, insincere, inconsistent in character and promotive of virtual fraud. "Overwhelmingly for the alleged impossibility of taking full advantage of the brief space of time afforded—was a reason given for deciding without evidence *aliunde*. Instead of intelligent and honest arbitration, the side between private disputants of fact, will be decided exclusively in favor of one litigant for want of

thrown in favor of an elector or electors of the opposite party, so as to turn the scale in a national count; and that wherever it proves that any State elector voted for was constitutionally disqualified to serve, the only question to be considered is whether to treat that elector as dropped altogether or, considering the mistake as corrected, to give to the State its full electoral vote for President as the voters actually intended.

A large painting of this electoral tribunal was accepted, many years ago, for the Senate wing of the capitol. It gives many portraits of commissioners, counsel and eminent spectators. But that painting has not been multiplied in the school books, nor sought out by tourists to be gazed upon with pride and reverence, like the Trumbull pictures in the rotunda. Congress, since 1877, has put into written enactment the matters for its own electoral procedure which only joint rules or oral custom supported at this earlier date. In case of a disputed Presidency hereafter, the two Houses, with such legislation, can conduct their own count unaided by any external tribunal and uncontrolled by the President of the Senate. No Electoral Commission is ever likely to be created in this Union again; and as for that of 1877 an intelligent posterity will wish it forgotten, and the means whereby Hayes became substituted as legitimate President in place of Tilden blotted from our annals.¹

On the 4th of March at high noon this Congress came to an end, after a protracted session of nearly twenty-four hours, and President Hayes was left free to pursue his own plans without hindrance. All the essential appropriation bills went through, but a great deal of business was left unfinished in either branch. Few laws of im-

¹ The Act of February 3, 1887, establishes the effect of a concurrence or non-concurrence of the two Houses over the electoral vote of any State, substantially as the Electoral Commission bill now provided. But it does not provide that a governor's certificate under the State seal shall be conclusive in case of a dispute, and refers the contest to the State courts. Cf. VII. Rhodes, 283.

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and pass, where so much time had been lost in electoral dispute and the two Houses were opposed politically. The bankruptcy law was changed. There was no legislation for the land, the distribution of the Geneva award, the soldiers' bounties, or a proposed transfer of the Bureau from the Interior to the War Department. Subsidy bills fell by the wayside. The Senate and House measure which deferred resumption of all financial efforts of that branch with con-

cerned this forty-fourth Congress, though numerous its members many late insurgents of the ex-Confederate brigadiers—men but lately in politics—was loyal in spirit and showed free from jobbery and sinister favoritism which had preceded it since the Civil War. In were many men of wisdom and moderation investigations were here started which the men out amply justified. But the majority of

gave his earnest approval, as though relieved of a dreaded responsibility over the succession. And, shortly before his term of office came to an end, he gave assurance that he would not longer take sides in recognizing the rival State governments of Louisiana and South Carolina. Our people, he observed candidly, were tired of having Southern State governments propped up by external military force, and he blamed Congress for shirking its own duty of providing for such distracted situations as had existed in that section while putting all the discretion and responsibility upon him. This final summing up of the whole matter, as the conviction of his own experience, was the wisest utterance Grant ever made on the Southern question.¹

These eight Presidential years of our chief military hero had been a terrible disappointment to honest and patriotic voters, seeking no favors for themselves, who had hailed his accession with joy to the chair which a Washington had first occupied. His course of official action, instead of improving upon experience and an added knowledge of his official duties, seemed fatuously impelled from bad to worse, as the years of his administration went on. This was largely due to bad surrounding influences in politics to which he yielded—to the pressure for household and family emolument which came upon him, and to social acquaintances and the public men of fiercely partisan views who gained most closely his acquaintance. San Domingo was the only fight which he seemed to have waged with the obstinacy of a personal pride, just as his veto of inflation was the only real public action for which the full praise was clearly his own. His perverse support of the wrong party so long, in dealing with the Southern situation—which he had taken up his first year, with a really fair and reconciling purpose—was due apparently to the advice he followed from Republican leaders with whom he most consorted. Love of the negro or deep reverence for the sanctity of a ballot box which knew no racial dis-

¹ N. Y. Nation, March 1, 8, 1877.

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ld hardly have inspired one of his attitude
Domingo and the District of Columbia; and
e remained generous in feeling towards ex-
foes who had fought him courageously in for-

politics were concerned Grant was a conserva-
e and temperament, and except, perhaps, for
nce at the head of affairs, the game had little
him. Yet through the blunders he made he
the Republican party to which he belonged in
s of 1870 and 1872, and in those of 1874 and
-high wrecked it altogether.

great military commander, in fact, made the
e of his life in accepting the Presidency, at all;
t should not be said in fairness that this con-
fide is never to be declined, as well as never
tely enough, Grant in the retrospect thought
our people of the North were ardent enough in
office upon him. As the consummate hero
War, and, considering the range of his service

his friend, General Sherman, who took the office of chief military command and, so far as he might, its honors, besides the emoluments.

In the opinion of those who knew him best Grant combined strong traits of personal character with great weaknesses. Rawlins, it was said, knew how to bring out what was best in him, and perhaps the early death of that mentor after entering the cabinet was in some sense a misfortune to the President; for, at all events, Grant was highly susceptible to surrounding influences, unimpassive and imperturbable though he seemed; he loved his family and congenial comrades, and had in his nature a strong sense of gratitude. Hence the crafty, supple and insinuating learned how to gain the ascendancy over one who was simple in character and free from guile, and yet approachable through the subtle arts of indirection. While President, Grant seldom rose above the commonplace in imparting direction but kept to the happenings while pursuing a routine. The better and more inspiring ideals of his early life must have come from his West Point training, which usually develops the instincts of gentlemanly honor, high breeding and comradeship, among youths educated to command others in the military profession. This, together with his experience in the Mexican War, gave him a standing indispensable to his full rise in the Civil War and procured for him friends of rank among regular army officers, where he had begun service as a volunteer. But the tastes and companionships Grant had formed during the intervening years of unprosperous civil pursuits, in tanning or real estate, were sordid and degrading, and these he could not wholly shake off when at the pinnacle of his fame. Hence he responded to those of vulgar wealth and luxury, and could consort with the "hail fellows" who sported fast horses, displayed flashy jewelry or spent profusely in eating and drinking.

Thousands of Union men at the North who had aided in advancing this great soldier to the Presidency, were misled by his reticence and stolid demeanor to expect great things from his wisdom and public impartiality. Grant

He should have done, apply himself to study of the situation while holding the supreme magistracy, and deliberately the best counsels of competent men considered from different points of view. He was misled upon the advice of Republican partisans who sought party ends to gain, and who, like himself, sought the patronage of official station for personal gain. His love of wealth and coarse display made his favorite summer resort, and, while associated with the Fisks, Jay Goulds, Murphys and other parvenu antecedents, he developed the remotest men of the academic pattern except for the selfish. The high moral and cultured statesmen of the era, Schurz, Motley and Curtis failed to attract him. His knowledge of men, limited to the great where military relations alone were concerned, did not extend to civilians nor to society at large. He was fixed in principles or public purpose except in a few instances which I have already dwelt upon, and he looked upon politics with something of a

devising. But it was otherwise with civil affairs while he was President. Here on most occasions he did little more than execute or give a permissive consent to what Congress or his advisers contrived for him. He went from one thing to another in the recommendations of his public messages. To civil service reform he gave a half-hearted commendation and then went back without reluctance to the apportionment of party spoils and the assessment for party politics upon the office holders. Anti-sectarian schools was one of the latest topics he sought to impress upon Congress, and then apparently dismissed from his thoughts.

Yet Grant at the White House was a pathetic figure,¹ as though seeking in a bewildering way to know his duty and render a conscientious performance. He must have despised at heart some of the Congressmen who got a strange hold upon him, for he could penetrate motives to a considerable extent with all his obtuseness, and he possessed personal integrity throughout, honesty and an undeniable patriotism. As during the course of his military experience, he thought, most likely, that the assumption of calm confidence when in real perplexity told with importance in winning a victory. Grant's mood when retiring from the Presidency, however, appears to have been more chastened and subdued than in earlier years, and far more so than when he first took the oath of supreme office. A great soldier may develop into an able despot—he may issue decrees in civil affairs and govern a people by his own satraps and subordinates, like an Augustus, an Alexander or a Napoleon; but, as is well remarked, he cannot become thus fitted for the harness of a constitutional government, nor learn, without much study and receptiveness, besides constant and persevering efforts, to apply with discrimination the limited executive authority mapped out under a written charter of fundamentals which holds a system of States in combination.

But Grant, years after his present retirement, followed

¹ So James Russell Lowell once remarked.

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his tour of the world, was destined to become a heroic figure at the close of life. We see him after a painfully unsuccessful effort to amass a fortune on Wall Street, through a pursuit of gain for which he was wholly unfitted, writing out in the extremity of a wasting last sickness those admirable Memoirs secured for his family, upon his death, a handsome reward besides placing his name high in posthumous fame. We see him working rapidly and industriously, in weakness and suffering, to fulfil a publishing contract and uncomplaining, never flinching or flagging, in his very last days, when taken to Mount McGregor, most exhausted, with a shawl about his shoulders, to converse except by writing on small slips of paper, till he put the final touches to a clear, simple and effective, just in its estimates of others, and wholly true to himself.¹ Congress had done a graceful and fitting thing this self-same year, in placing the iron in the retired army list, with full pay as general for the rest of his life.²

leaders at Washington, with whom this New York Executive had but little acquaintance; with extremists of the Republican party ready to fan into a flaming grievance all suppression of the negro vote; and with the inflation sentiment in the Democratic Northwest to hinder resumption and the sound financial policy to which he himself was committed, Tilden would have needed all his resourcefulness unimpaired to accomplish a successful administration. His skill and capacity for so stupendous a task we need not question, were he sure of robust and vigorous health, throughout his term; but of that there was doubt. Already during the winter of strife he had shown signs of old age; he was procrastinating, slow of action, not positive enough to inspire his following. And whether or not he was conscious of this and preferred the serenity of his domestic abode, surrounded by all the comforts of life, to further political turmoil, it is certain that he never consented to stand for the Presidency again nor sought a vindication from the voters.

But with Hayes installed in Executive office, the experiment of forcing a negro and carpet-bag despotism upon the Southern States came to an end as the natural result of Republican consent to abandon it and under the auspices of the same great national party that had set it in operation. And Hayes himself, honest of purpose and faithful to the pledges made for him by his friends, whether with his previous sanction or not, while the electoral count was being completed, undertook, upon his accession to office, that the policy of military intervention in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina should come speedily to an end.¹

Of those States, Florida had regained already its equilibrium, free from Federal interference. A mandamus issuing from the supreme court of that State, ^{January.} Stearns, who had been counted in as governor by the canvassing board, was ousted and Drew, Democrat, admitted in his stead. On January 2, 1877, Drew was

¹ *Supra*, p. 342. See also letter of Stanley Matthews and Charles Foster, alluded to in VII. Rhodes, 286.

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inaugurated and Florida's legislature organized Democratic majority.¹

South Carolina and Louisiana, dual governors and factions were still in rivalry; Federal troops maintained Republican ascendancy, while the intelligence of each State strongly supported the Democrats. In South Carolina Wade Hampton had supporters on his side, while Chamberlain stood upon a platform made by a Republican canvassing board, and he was thrown out the votes of two Democratic electors in his benefit. On March 23, Hayes summoned

Chamberlain and Hampton to Washington. After frank conferences announced his intention to follow the advice of his whole cabinet to withdraw all Federal troops from the State House at Columbia. He decided the controversy in Hampton's favor; the order was issued April 10, and on that day Chamberlain withdrew from office, turning over the Executive records and the seal of office. On a similar course Hayes pursued towards Louisiana, with more deliberation. Sending to New

point, recalls an assertion that Wells and Anderson, of the returning board in that State, took their final pay, if not in cash, at least in patronage.¹

We should not readily believe that any positive bargain ever passed between these reprobates and the visiting Republicans. Yet, among the Republican watchers of the count, none as we have seen was more resolute of purpose or specious in methods for securing Louisiana than Senator Sherman. With Hayes as President he would be Secretary of the Treasury, and this he probably knew. No promise need have passed under such conditions: a broad hint, a few words of inducement, were enough to create an expectation in return, equivalent to a good understanding. However this may have been, it is undeniable that all the members and clerks of this corrupt returning board, or some of their relatives, received good custom-house positions at New Orleans, when Sherman became head of the Treasury. This is the most blackening incident of Hayes's administration in connection with the Louisiana electoral count.²

President Hayes, on the whole, made a clean and creditable administration for his party, which, indeed, so profited by the wisdom and moderation shown in affairs by himself and his capable cabinet, that the Republican party renewed for another Presidential term, without interruption, its long continued supremacy in national politics. For in the Presidential contest of 1880 neither Hayes nor Tilden risked a personal canvass, but left the field clear for other aspirants. The Southern negro, on whose behalf since 1860 so much precious blood had been poured out by men of the higher race on either side and so many billions of treasure expended, soon ceased to become the pawn of vicious politics and turned to cultivating

¹ Century Magazine, May, 1913, p. 15.

² See list of appointments or retentions given in VII. Rhodes, 289. Wells (followed by the appointment of his son in 1880) continued surveyor; Anderson was deputy collector; Kenny was naval officer; and Casanave's brother became U. S. storekeeper.

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and industrial relations where he resided, un-
der condition of a permanent freedom and
The period of reconstruction followed that of
the irrevocable past, and a new era dawned
peace, prosperity and the exertion of a strong
among the world's great powers. Henceforward
national government of the "one from many"
destined to become less of a confederacy and
united nation.

A.

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265 294).

APPENDIX.

A. ELECTORAL VOTE BY STATES FOR PRESIDENT, 1865-1877.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1868.			
STATES.		U. S. Grant, Rep.	H. Seymour, Dem.
1	Alabama.....	8	
2	Arkansas.....	5	
3	California.....	5	
4	Connecticut.....	6	
5	Delaware.....		3
6	Florida.....	3	
7	Georgia.....		9
8	Illinois.....	16	
9	Indiana.....	13	
10	Iowa.....	8	
11	Kansas.....	3	
12	Kentucky.....		11
13	Louisiana.....		7
14	Maine.....	7	
15	Maryland.....		7
16	Massachusetts.....	12	
17	Michigan.....	8	
18	Minnesota.....	4	
19	Mississippi.....		
20	Missouri.....	11	
21	Nebraska.....	3	
22	Nevada.....	3	
23	New Hampshire.....	5	
24	New Jersey.....		7
25	New York.....		33
26	North Carolina.....	9	
27	Ohio.....	21	
28	Oregon.....		3
29	Pennsylvania.....	26	
30	Rhode Island.....	4	
31	South Carolina.....	6	
32	Tennessee.....	10	
33	Texas.....		
34	Vermont.....	5	
35	Virginia.....		
36	West Virginia.....	5	
37	Wisconsin.....	8	
Total.....		214	80

Mississippi, Texas and Virginia did not vote.
For Vice-President the electoral votes of Schuyler Colfax (Rep.) and F. P. Blair, Jr. (Dem.), corresponded.

APPENDIX.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1872.		
STATES.	U. S. Grant, Rep.	H. Greeley, Lib. Rep. and Dem.
Alabama.....	10	.....
Arkansas.....	.....	.....
California.....	6	.....
Connecticut.....	6	.....
Delaware.....	3	.....
Florida.....	4	.....
Georgia.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	21	.....
Indiana.....	15	.....
Iowa.....	11	.....
Kansas.....	5	.....
Kentucky.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	7	.....
Maryland.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	13	.....
Michigan.....	11	.....
Minnesota.....	5	.....
Mississippi.....	8	.....
Missouri.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	3	.....
Nevada.....	3	.....
New Hampshire.....	5	.....
New Jersey.....	9	.....
New York.....	35	.....
North Carolina.....	10	.....
Ohio.....	22	.....
Oregon.....	3	.....

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1876.			
STATES.		R. B. Hayes, Rep.	S. J. Tilden, Dem.
1	Alabama.....		10
2	Arkansas.....		6
3	California.....	6	
4	Colorado.....	3	
5	Connecticut.....		6
6	Delaware.....		3
7	Florida.....	4	
8	Georgia.....		11
9	Illinois.....	21	
10	Indiana.....		15
11	Iowa.....	11	
12	Kansas.....	5	
13	Kentucky.....		12
14	Louisiana.....	8	
15	Maine.....	7	
16	Maryland.....		8
17	Massachusetts.....	13	
18	Michigan.....	11	
19	Minnesota.....	5	
20	Mississippi.....		8
21	Missouri.....		15
22	Nebraska.....	3	
23	Nevada.....	3	
24	New Hampshire.....	5	
25	New Jersey.....		9
26	New York.....		35
27	North Carolina.....		10
28	Ohio.....	22	
29	Oregon.....	3	
30	Pennsylvania.....	29	
31	Rhode Island.....	4	
32	South Carolina.....	7	
33	Tennessee.....		12
34	Texas.....		8
35	Vermont.....	5	
36	Virginia.....		11
37	West Virginia.....		5
38	Wisconsin.....	10	
Total.....		185	184

For Vice-President the electoral votes of William A. Wheeler (Rep.) and T. A. Hendricks (Dem.) corresponded.

See *supra*, p. 311 *et seq.*, as to the dispute over this election.

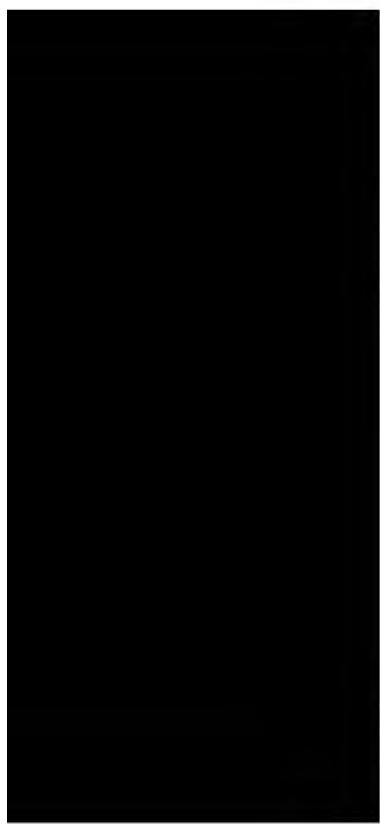
APPENDIX.

LENGTH OF SESSIONS OF CONGRESS, 1865-1877.

No. OF SESSION.	TIME OF SESSION.
1st. 2d.	Dec. 4, 1865-July 28, 1866. Dec. 3, 1866-March 4, 1867.
1st. 1st. 1st. 2d. 3d.	March 4, 1867-March 30, 1867. July 3, 1867-July 20, 1867. Nov. 21, 1867-Dec. 2, 1867. Dec. 2, 1867-July 27, 1868. Dec. 7, 1868-March 4, 1869.
1st. 2d. 3d.	March 4, 1869-April 10, 1869. Dec. 6, 1869-July 15, 1870. Dec. 5, 1870-March 4, 1871.



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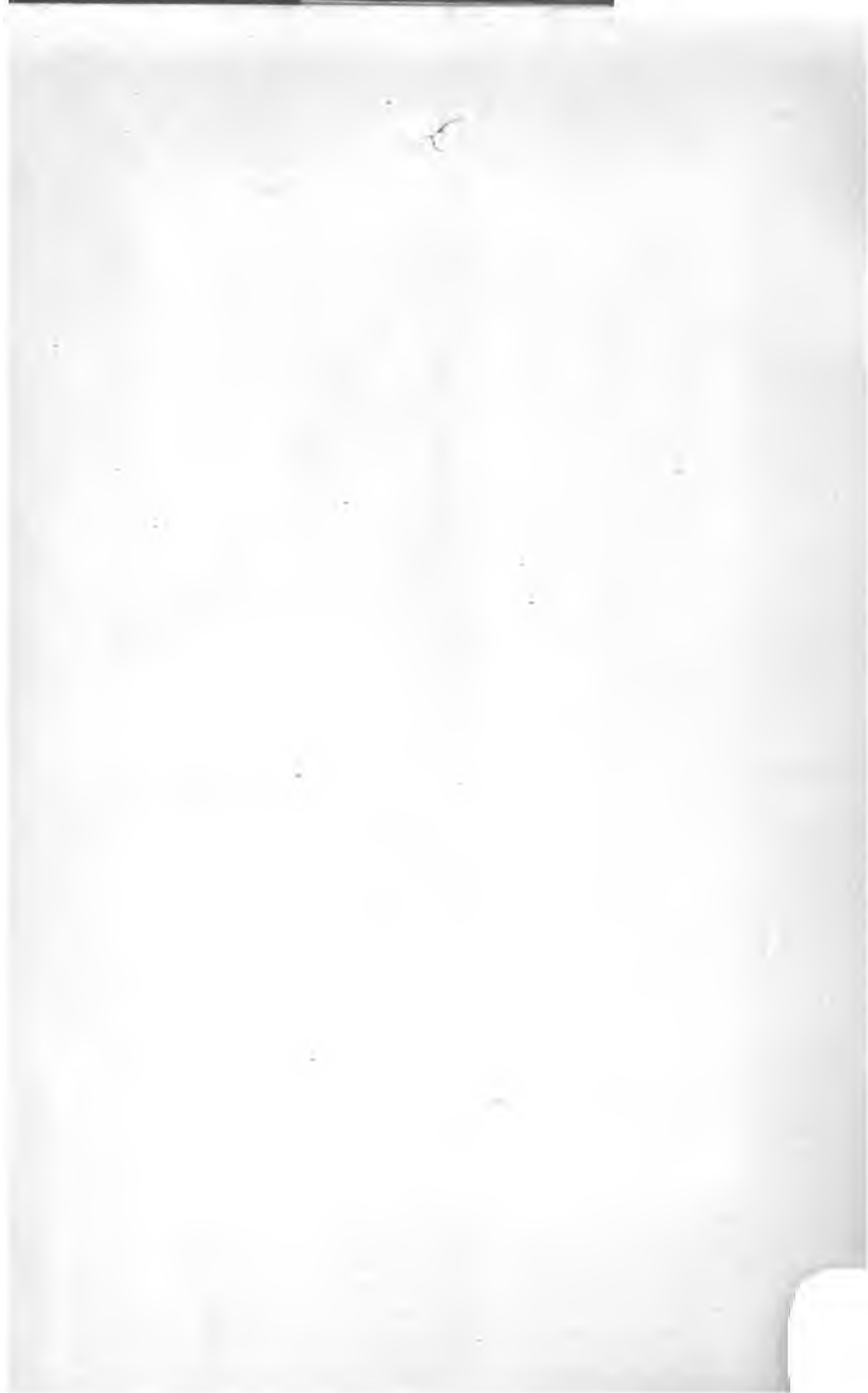
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